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P. M. HOLT

# THE SUDAN OF THE THREE NILES

*The Funj Chronicles 910-1288/1504-1871*





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**THE SUDAN OF THE THREE NILES**



# ISLAMIC HISTORY AND CIVILIZATION

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# THE SUDAN OF THE THREE NILES

*The Funj Chronicle 910-1288/1504-1871*

BY

P.M. HOLT



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## INTRODUCTION

### 1. *History of the text*

The Funj Chronicle is a title conventionally given to a Sudanese Arabic work which narrates the history of the Funj sultanate, centred at Sinnār on the Blue Nile, and which continues into the succeeding Turco-Egyptian regime (*al-Turkiyya*) to the varying dates reached by the original chronicler and his continuators. The work has long been known. It provided most of the information for the historical introduction to Col. Stewart's *Report on the Soudan* (1883),<sup>1</sup> and it was the principal source used by Na'ūm Shuqayr (Naum Shoucair) for the account of the Funj dynasty in his *Ta'rikh al-Sūdān* (Cairo, 1903).<sup>2</sup> By way of Shuqayr's book, data from the Funj Chronicle passed again into English in E.A. Wallis Budge's *The Egyptian Sūdān* (London, 1907).<sup>3</sup> An English summary translation of the final recension of the Chronicle was published by H.A. MacMichael in *A history of the Arabs in the Sudan* (Cambridge, 1922).<sup>4</sup> The Arabic text of this recension was published by the late Professor Makki Shubayka (Mekki Shibeika) of the University of Khartoum as *Ta'rikh mulūk al-Sūdān* (Khartoum, 1947). The original version of the Chronicle was published by the late al-Shāṭir Buṣaylī 'Abd al-Jalīl (Chater Bosayley A. Galil) under the title *Makḥṭūṭat Kātib al-Shūna*, n.d., n.p. [Cairo, 1963]. A critical edition of the text of the Chronicle is now under preparation by Professor Yūsuf Faḍl Ḥasan of the University of Khartoum.

Shubayka's introduction to his edition of the Chronicle was the first serious study of the history of the text, although some of the previous users (all of whom worked directly or indirectly with the final recension) had realized that more than one author was involved. Shubayka established that the original chronicler was a certain Shaykh Aḥmad, the son of al-Ḥājj Abū 'Alī, generally known as *Kātib al-Shūna* because he was the clerk of the Turco-Egyptian government

<sup>1</sup> *Report on the Soudan by Lieutenant-Colonel Stewart*. Parliamentary Papers: Egypt No. 11 (1883). C 3670. Pp. 2-6.

<sup>2</sup> Part II, pp. 71-98.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. II, pp. 200-4.

<sup>4</sup> Vol. II, pp. 354-430.



granary. His version was edited and continued by Shaykh al-Zubayr b. 'Abd al-Qādir w. al-Zayn al-Ya'qūbābī, usually known al-Zubayr w. Dawwah from his mother's name; and a second recension was made by Shaykh Ibrāhīm 'Abd al-Dāfi' al-Jamū'ī. The narrative of events was briefly continued by Shaykh al-Amīn Muḥammad al-Darīr, ending the Chronicle in 1288/1871. It is in this final form that it has become generally known, especially through MacMichael's translation.

The framework and data established by Shubayka form the basis for a fuller textual history of the Chronicle. The first stage, as indicated by Shubayka, is the original version, written by Kātib al-Shūna and ending in 1254/1838. Shubayka identified this version in a manuscript in Dār al-Kutūb al-Miṣriyya in Cairo (MS. 18 Tārīkh *mām*; hereafter MS. Cairo). A second and identical copy is extant in Istanbul (Library of Cevdet Paşa 138; hereafter MS. Istanbul). Internal evidence indicates that Kātib al-Shūna began to write the Chronicle before the Turco-Egyptian conquest in 1235/1820; e.g. after the name of Sinnār in his introduction, he adds the epithets *al-maḥrūsa al-maḥmūdiyya*, "the divinely protected and guarded", which are traditionally applied to Muslim capitals, and so would be appropriate for Sinnār during the Funj sultanate; it is significant that after the conquest, *al-maḥrūsa* is employed only as a synonym for Cairo, and is so rendered in this translation. The text may reflect the point at which the new regime was established. Under the events of A.H. 1213, the Kātib refers to the deposition of Bādī VI, and adds *wa-huwa al-mawjūd al-ān*, "who is living now". When, however, he refers to Bādī's restoration in A.H. 1219, he writes *wa-aqām ilā ḥān ḥuḍur al-dawla al-'Uthmāniyya*, "and he remained until the coming of the Ottoman regime".

There is a variant of the original version of the Chronicle which was unknown to Shubayka. It is extant in two manuscripts; one of them in the Austrian Nationalbibliothek in Vienna (MS. Mixt. 677a), the other in the Library of the University of Nottingham (Parkyns of Bunny Manuscripts, MSS. Pa X 3, Pa X 3/1). One detached folio of this manuscript is among the Mansfield Parkyns Papers at the Royal Geographical Society, London. These are hereafter designated MS. Vienna and MS. Nottingham respectively. Both are of nearly the same date. MS. Vienna was transcribed for the Catholic missionary Ignaz Knoblehar (Knoblecher),<sup>5</sup> who was in the Sudan

<sup>5</sup> Hill, *Biographical dictionary*, 205-6, 403.

between 1848 and 1857, while MS. Nottingham was transcribed by a Lebanese ivory trader, Ibrāhīm Bāz, for the English traveller Mansfield Parkyns,<sup>6</sup> who was in al-Khurṭūm in 1847. Both manuscripts are fragments: MS. Vienna breaks off just before the end of the Funj period, while MS. Nottingham is cut short in 1257/1841–2, i.e. some three years later than MSS. Cairo and Istanbul. MS. Vienna is execrably written, and while MS. Nottingham is much more clearly written, Ibrāhīm Bāz was at times obviously puzzled by what he was transcribing, and there are numerous corruptions, especially of names in the earlier part of the Chronicle.

In an autobiographical note prefixed to his manuscript, Ibrāhīm Bāz describes in his somewhat florid Arabic (very different from the style of the Chronicle) how the translation came to be made. To Mansfield Parkyns during his stay in al-Khurṭūm word came of “the book of the chronicles of the divinely guarded town of Sinnār and of other towns and villages, and of the former kings. As soon as the *khawāja*’s ears tingled at the information of this book, he started out for it at once. The news greatly excited him, for it was a particular reason for his travel. He found it with a friend who was concealing it and watching over it, because it was a unique copy. He made him welcome to examine it. He asked it of him, so that he might take a copy and return it to him. The owner refused out of fear for it. He made terms with him on oath, which he gladly accepted: that he would not take it out of his house, and that no-one should look at it except the copyist, the reader, and he who examined it. On that day the *khawāja* Ibrāhīm Bāz, a Bayrūtī by origin, was in the Peninsula. The *khawāja* Mansfield went directly to him, and asked him to copy this book. When the *khawāja* Ibrāhīm saw his eagerness for it, and that he especially desired it, and also since he [Ibrāhīm] was under the protection of Great Britain, and he wished, and indeed strove to the limit of his capacity and power for everything that would conduce to the benefit of every individual among the sons of this great state, he responded to his enquiry, and started to copy it verbatim, without the addition or omission of a single letter. That was on Friday, 14 Shubāṭ [February], A.D. 1847.”<sup>7</sup>

The continuator of the Chronicle gives his name in MS. Nottingham

<sup>6</sup> DNB, XV, 319; Duncan Cumming, *The gentleman savage. The life of Mansfield Parkyns 1823–1894*, London, 1987.

<sup>7</sup> MS. Nottingham, pp. 1–2.

at p. 149 as Shaykh Aḥmad al-Ḥājj Muḥammad Janqāl. Where he covers the same ground as Kātib al-Shūna, i.e. from the opening of the Chronicle to the recall of Khūrshīd Pasha in 1254/1838, the text is largely identical. There are, however, 17 longer or shorter passages which are not found in MSS. Cairo and Istanbul. These are as follows:—

No.	Translation pages	MS. Nottingham pages	Subject
1.	3	5	Spiritual guides of Idrīs w. al-Arbāb
2.	3-3a	5-6	Funj origins and accession ritual
3.	15	22	Death of the 'arīf Dāwūd
4.	25-6	33	The four cities of the Funj
5.	34	40-1	Events of A.H. 1206 and 1208
6.	53	61	The reconciling <i>marātib</i>
7.	66-7	76-7	<i>Karāmāt</i> of Muḥammad w. Ḍayfallāh
8.	70	82-3	The <i>Arbāb</i> Farajallāh
9.	82-5	94-7	Hamaj origins and relations with Funj
10.	90-2	98-100	Shāyqiyya and Ismā'īl Pasha
11.	102-5	105-9	Killing of Ismā'īl Pasha; operations of Defterdar
12.	107-10	111-14	<i>Karāmāt</i> of Ḍayfallāh w. Muḥammad
13.	115	121	Birth of son to Chronicler
14.	118	122	Spiritual guides of Muḥammad al-Majdhūb
15.	119	127	Death of Chronicler's brother; birth of son
16.	123	138	Death of Chronicler's brother
17.	125	139	Death of Chronicler's brother

Of these additional passages, two (nos. 10 and 11) supplement material in MSS. Cairo and Istanbul, and may probably be taken as interpolations by the continuator. This is all the more likely since no. 10 deals with the exploits of the Shāyqiyya, and as will appear, the continuator was probably a Shāyqī. Passages nos. 1, 3, 6, 7, 12, and 14 are concerned with the deeds and *karāmāt* of holy men, which MSS. Cairo and Istanbul show to have been a preoccupation of Kātib al-Shūna. The details of family history in nos. 13 and 15-17 resemble similar notices in MSS. Cairo and Istanbul. I would therefore suggest that these passages (with the exception of nos. 10 and 11) formed part of a version of the Kātib's text *antecedent* to that given



by MSS. Cairo and Istanbul, which manuscripts give a version perhaps edited by the Kātib himself for presentation to Khūrshīd Pasha. Two passages of great interest nowadays, nos. 2 and 9, which deal with the origins and customs of the Funj and the Hamaj, may have been excised as redolent of a primitive barbarism inappropriate to territories lately incorporated (at least notionally) in the Islamic Ottoman Empire.

Turning now to the later recensions of the Chronicle, that of al-Zubayr w. Dawwāh is represented by MS. Paris, i.e. MS. Arabe 5069 of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. This opens with a deliberate and intentionally scholarly attempt to correct and extend the Kātib's introduction to his Chronicle. He takes exception to the Kātib's statement that there was no school of Islamic studies before the coming of Maḥmūd al-'Arakī, and adduces semi-legendary evidence in support of his claim. Of greater importance is his attempt to link the coming of the Funj with the earlier history of Nubia, drawing for this purpose on the recently published work of al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1422), *al-Khiṭaṭ*, of which the portions dealing with Nubia are in fact excerpted from the fourth/tenth-century account by Ibn Sulaym al-Aswānī. Al-Zubayr's failure to recognize the gap of five centuries between this material and the beginning of the Funj Chronicle vitiates his attempt to set the Funj-'Abdallābī hegemony in the Sudanese Nile Valley in a wider historical perspective. Apart from this, he gives a more polished version of the Kātib's account, and usefully continues the Chronicle to 8 Jumādā II 1280/20 Nov. 1863 in the governor-generalship of Mūsā Pasha Ḥamdī.

The second recension of the Chronicle, prepared by Ibrāhīm 'Abd al-Dāfi', seems to have circulated widely in manuscript form. A copy was presented by General Gordon to the British Museum (MS. Or. 2345), and another copy made for the late Revd. Dr. A.J. Arkell is now in the School of Oriental and African Studies, London (Arkell Papers, Box 2, File 6, ff. 4-87). A copy made for Sir Harold MacMichael in 1914 from a manuscript belonging to a descendant of the Funj kings was the basis of his summary translation. It was this recension which was edited by Professor Makkī Shubayka, whose published text is used in this translation. Apart from much reducing al-Zubayr's introduction by cutting out the long citations from al-Maqrīzī, Ibrāhīm 'Abd al-Dāfi' contributes to the development of the Chronicle notably by the information he gives about the career of al-Zubayr's father, Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir w. al-Zayn. He does

not appear to have continued the Chronicle beyond the point reached by al-Zubayr, but it concludes with an account of the administrations of Ja'far Ṣādiq, Ja'far Maẓhar and Aḥmad Mumtāz. This was contributed by the eminent 'ālim al-Aynīn Muḥammad al-Ḍarīr, who does not attempt to conceal his rancour against the last of these. On this sour note the Chronicle ends in Ramaḍān 1288/November 1871, a decade before the manifestation of the Mahdi Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh, who was to overthrow the Turco-Egyptian regime in the Sudan, and set up an Islamic theocracy on its ruins.

## 2. *The structure and scope of the Chronicle*

The structure which the Kātib gave to his Chronicle, and which persisted in the later recensions, is worth some consideration. It opens with a formal pious exordium, including the *basmala* and an elaboration of the *shahāda*. An allusion to the subject-matter of the Chronicle may perhaps be seen in the Chronicler's praise to God as the destroyer of kings and the subduer of tyrants. In the introductory section which follows, the Kātib expresses his wish to follow the pattern of other dynastic chronicles in writing an account of Sinnār and its kings. He notes that his sources are confused anecdotes, but proceeds immediately to give a citation from one of the probably two written authorities available to him—the beginning of Wad Ḍayfallāh's *Ṭabaqāt*, a biographical dictionary of the holy men and religious teachers of the Sudan, compiled between 1166/1753 and 1219/1804–5. The citation is important because it gives a curiously hard date (miscopied in the manuscripts but corrected in the later recensions) for the foundation of Sinnār, and also because it links the coming of Islamic religious teachers to the Sudan with the establishment of Funj power—a linkage which is angrily refuted by al-Zubayr w. Ḍawwāh in his recension of the Chronicle.

The Kātib then turns to the history of the Funj, giving the origin legends of the dynasty and Sinnār (most fully in MSS. Nottingham and Vienna) and the traditions of the relationship between 'Amāra Dūnqas and 'Abdallāh Jammā' al-Quraynātī. For the kings from 'Amāra Dūnqas to at least Bādī IV Abū Shulūkh, a period of over two and a half centuries, the Kātib clearly relied upon another written source, a king-list similar to, but not identical with, that given by Aḥmad Sīd al-Qām to the Scottish traveller James Bruce in 1772.

Such a list gave merely essential data: the name of each king, his relationship to his predecessor, the date of the end of his reign and its length. The king-list is, however, fleshed out in various places with traditional anecdotes, e.g. the campaign of Bādī II Abū Diqin against Taqālī, or other literary material of diverse provenance.

With the reign of Bādī IV Abū Shulūkh, the nature and style of the Chronicle begin to change, and the regnal framework is submerged under detailed narrative, finally disappearing with the reign of 'Adlān II in 1203/1788-9. "From here", says the Kātib, "the power of the Funj ended, and no list of them was kept. Their kingship became a customary institution, and the regnal dating passed in reality in the name of the Hamaj, and their trace was obliterated."<sup>8</sup> In the last years of Bādī IV's reign, Muḥammad Abū Likaylik emerges as the dominant figure in the kingdom, of which he was ultimately the regent for Bādī's sons, Nāṣir and Ismā'īl. The change of regime in 1175/1761-2 took place about a generation before Kātib al-Shūna's own birth in 1199/1784-5, and so from here he is no doubt drawing on the recollections of his father, grandfather and their contemporaries, and setting them with some care in their chronological order. Still later he is writing the memoirs of his own lifetime with occasional personal touches such as the looting of his village and his flight in 1227/1812-13.

In effect, the Chronicle offers a detailed narrative of the Hamaj regency under Muḥammad Abū Likaylik, his brother, and seven of his sons and grandsons. The account at times attains the quality of a saga of the House of Abū Likaylik with such memorable episodes as the story of the Regent Bādī riding out to die in his perfumed robe, fey, and summoning his opponents to single combat by the names of their mothers. Then there are the dark sayings such as that of the daughters of Muḥammad Abū Likaylik calling on their brothers for revenge on the Ja'aliyyūn who had imprisoned them—"One hobbled the steed, and one confined the women. To whom will you give the territory?"<sup>9</sup> In addition to the history of the Hamaj regents, Kātib al-Shūna also gives much information about the Islamic teachers and holy men, with many of whom he was personally acquainted. This hagiographical material virtually forms a supplement to the *Ṭabaqāt* of Wad Dayfallāh.

<sup>8</sup> P. 31 *inf.*

<sup>9</sup> P. 39 *inf.*



The geographical range of this part of the Chronicle is never very extensive. The territories west of the White Nile are almost unmentioned apart from Bādī II Abū Diqin's march to Taqālī and Muḥammad 'Uthmān al-Mīrghanī's missionary journey to Kordofān. The powerful chiefs of the 'Abdallāb, the viceroys of the north, receive only occasional notice, the politically important and economically significant Ja'aliyyūn even less; in the words of the Kātib, "As for the state of the 'Abdallāb and the Sa'dāb, we have given no account of them for lack of information about their affairs, or because they were one kingdom."<sup>10</sup> Further downstream, the successful revolt of the bellicose Shāyqiyya against their 'Abdallāb and Funj overlords towards the end of the seventeenth century passes completely unremarked.<sup>11</sup> Nearer home, the Kātib's information is equally limited. The shaykhs of Khashm al-Baḥr, the riverain district south of Sinnār, were important during the Hamaj regency, and one of them, 'Adlān w. Ṣubāḥī, was particularly close to Muḥammad Abū Likaylik. The Kātib devotes an appendix to them, but he is unable to say whether or not there was a shaykhdom before 'Adlān's time.<sup>12</sup>

The scope of the Chronicle is thus virtually confined to the regions on the east and west banks of the Blue Nile, north to its junction with the White Nile, south to the cradle of the Funj dynasty, the unidentified Lūl. In a telling parallel, the Kātib contrasts the Regent Nāṣir b. Muḥammad Abī Likaylik with his three powerful contemporaries, the sultan of Dār Fūr, Murād Bey in Egypt and Aḥmad al-Jazzār in Syria, and concludes with unconscious irony that "Nāṣir was the most outstanding of them because of the narrowness of his realm, for it was restricted to part of the Peninsula [of Sinnār]."<sup>13</sup>

With the coming of the Turco-Egyptian conquerors, the range of Kātib al-Shūna's vision is abruptly extended. The second part of his Chronicle opens with the conflict between the invaders and the previously unnoticed Shāyqiyya, and then follows Ismā'īl Pasha up the main Nile and the Blue Nile to Sinnār. Thrusts into the country of the Dinka and the highlands on the marches of Ethiopia ensue within the next few months, and later the Kātib describes the military operations of Khūrshīd Pasha in these regions. Nevertheless, he remains

<sup>10</sup> P. 76 *inf.*

<sup>11</sup> On the revolt of the Shāyqiyya, see MacMichael, *Arabs*, I, 215–16.

<sup>12</sup> P. 74 *inf.*

<sup>13</sup> P. 34 *inf.*

primarily a chronicler of the Blue Nile. No account is given of the important conquest of Kordofān, which opened the way to a future annexation of Dār Fūr. The conqueror of Kordofān, the Defterdar Bey, is first mentioned when he is already at al-Ubayyid, and about to march on Shandī to undertake punitive operations against the Ja'aliyyūn who had killed Ismā'il Pasha.

The Kātib's section devoted to the period in office of Khūrshīd Pasha, the first governor-general of the Egyptian Sudan, sets the structural framework for the continuators of the Chronicle. Aḥmad Muḥammad Janqāl's account of the governor-generalship of Aḥmad Pasha Abū Wīdn is unfortunately defective, but in the recensions of al-Zubayr w. Dawwah and Ibrāhīm 'Abd al-Dāfi the periods of office of the governor-generals form the historiographical units of the last part of the Chronicle.

### 3. *The writers of the Chronicle and their outlook on events*

For information about the original chronicler, designated as Kātib al-Shūna, we are wholly dependent upon the scraps of information that he has himself provided. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥājj Abū [*sic pro* Abī] 'Alī was born in 1199/1784-5 in the vicinity of al-Masallamiyya, near the left bank of the Blue Nile and about 130 miles from al-Khurṭūm. He evidently had a traditional Sudanese Islamic education, and seems to have been well acquainted with the religious teachers and holy men of his region. He refers to two of these as 'amm, "paternal uncle", but this may have been a term of respect rather than an indication of blood-relationship. His father made the Pilgrimage to Mecca in 1215/1800-1, but died after his return in the following year. He records the birth of a son, Muḥammad, in Dhu'l-Qa'da 1224/Dec. 1809-Jan. 1810, and the death of his mother in 1233/1817-8. If we accept the relevant additional passages in MS. Nottingham as parts of his original Chronicle, two more sons, Muḥammad 'Alī and Muḥammad 'Uthmān, were born in Rajab 1244/Feb. 1829 and Sha'bān 1248/Dec. 1832-Jan. 1833 respectively. Their names may be seen as a genuflection to the new ruler and the founder of the influential new Khatmiyya *ṭarīqa*. The additional passages also mention the deaths of three of the Kātib's brothers: 'Umar in Ṣafar 1248/July 1832, and both al-Sharīf Aḥmad and al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn in 1252/1836-7, which was a year of sickness.

On 2 Ṣafar 1240/26 Sept. 1824 he was at the new Turco-Egyptian settlement of al-Khurṭūm, which was to replace the remote and dilapidated Funj capital of Sinnār as the military and administrative centre of the Egyptian Sudan. The Sudanese notables were assembled there to meet 'Uthmān Bey, appointed commander of the Turco-Egyptian forces in the newly conquered territories. The Kātib's patron, Shanbūl w. Madanī, was made the paramount shaykh over a vast region stretching from the Sixth Cataract to the Funj Hills, and under his sponsorship Aḥmad entered the service of the new administration. He started work in the following month as a clerk in the government granary (much of the newly imposed taxes on the peasantry being paid in kind), and from this employment he obtained his sobriquet. He tells us nothing of his work, which ended in Dhu'l Qa'da 1250/March 1835 in circumstances which he does not particularize, although his narrative at this point is heavy with hints of false friends. In Sha'bān 1253/Nov. 1837 he left al-Khurṭūm for his native village. He died at some date after Rabī' I 1254/May-June 1838, where his Chronicle ends.

For the continuator, Aḥmad al-Ḥājj Muḥammad Janqāl, we are again dependent for biographical information on what he tells us, and that is very little indeed. He probably came from much the same traditionally educated milieu as the Kātib, whose father like his made the Pilgrimage. His name suggests that he may have been a kinsman of two Shāyqī chiefs whom he mentions, Muḥammad Nūr Janqāl (d. 1252/1836-7), and his similarly named son.<sup>14</sup> He tells us that he was at the military parade held by Aḥmad Pasha Abū Widān to impress the Abyssinian envoys at al-Qallābāt in 1257/1842, which suggests that he held some official appointment, perhaps in the Shāyqiyya irregular cavalry.

Of the author of the first recension of the Chronicle, by contrast, a fair amount is known. The father of al-Zubayr, 'Abd al-Qādir w. al-Zayn, belonged to the important tribe of the Ya'qūbāb,<sup>15</sup> a clan of holy men who were closely associated with the Funj rulers. Al-Zubayr is curiously silent about his father, but the author of the second recension, Ibrāhīm 'Abd al-Dāfi, makes good the deficiency, and marks the main steps by which 'Abd al-Qādir rose in impor-

<sup>14</sup> P. 80 *inf.*

<sup>15</sup> On the Ya'qūbāb, see A.J. Arkell, "Fung origins", *SNR*, XV/2, 1932, at pp. 237-8.

tance under the Turco-Egyptian regime. In 1241/1825-6, having advised the acting governor of the Sudan, Maḥū Bey, on the means of effecting a settlement in the Peninsula of Sinnār, 'Abd al-Qādir was promoted, and given a robe of honour. In the following year he was made the paramount shaykh of the region formerly under Shanbūl w. Madanī. This was during the governor-generalship of Khūrshīd Pasha, who is shown as depending on 'Abd al-Qādir's advice. He enjoyed the same importance under Aḥmad Pasha Abū Widn. In 1261/1845 he was taken to Cairo, and presented to Muḥammad 'Alī Pasha, who decorated him. He was subsequently appointed *mu'āwin* to the governor-general, and on his death from cholera in 1272/1856, al-Zubayr visited Cairo, where the viceroy Muḥammad Sa'īd appointed him to succeed his father. It was presumably during this visit that al-Zubayr became acquainted with the *Khīṭaṭ* of al-Maqrīzī, first published in Cairo in 1270/1853-4, of which he was to make use in his recension of the Chronicle.

Al-Zubayr's tenure of office was to be brief. According to Ibrāhīm 'Abd al-Dāfi', he lost the confidence of the Armenian governor, Arākīl Bey as a result of the interference of trouble-makers, and fled to Cairo, where he became a *mu'āwin* in the Ministry of the Interior. However this may be, his name appears (as Shubayka has shown) among those released from detention in Egypt under an amnesty from Muḥammad Sa'īd Pasha in 1277/1860-1. In favour with Mūsā Ḥamdī Pasha, governor-general of the Sudan, he reappears as paramount shaykh with the additional appointment of inspector general of Sudanese district administrative officials. Other appointments were noted by Shubayka from documentary sources, but on the outbreak of the Mahdia al-Zubayr was accused of supporting the rising. There are oral reports that he was put to death by drowning on the orders of the governor-general 'Abd al-Qādir Pasha Ḥilmī, but his end remains obscure. It may be noted that his recension of the Chronicle ends during the governor-generalship of Mūsā Ḥamdī, when al-Zubayr was entering on his second period of good fortune.

Ibrāhīm 'Abd al-Dāfi', who was responsible for the second and final recension, was, like the other writers associated with the Chronicle, a Sudanese from the educated religious elite, and the holder of an appointment under the Turco-Egyptian regime. His grandfather, 'Abd al-Dāfi' al-Qindīl (d. 1180/1766-7) taught in the mosque school in Ḥalfāyat al-Mulūk, then the 'Abdallābī capital. Shaykh Ibrāhīm himself was apparently a member of Kātib al-Shūna's circle, since several

of his elegies are cited at length in the original version of the Chronicle. Under the Turco-Egyptian administration he became a deputy judge, and in 1270/1853-4 he was appointed *mufti*. However, in 1273/1856-7 he was sent to Egypt with a number of judges and other persons who were accused of corruption, but returned under the amnesty of 1277/1860-1. He appears never to have held office again, and he died on the eve of the Mahdīa, when Ra'ūf Pasha was the governor-general.

Al-Amīn Muḥammad al-Darīr, the writer of the short and venomous summary of events which concludes the Chronicle, had perhaps the most successful career of these five writers. He came from the settlement of Maḥas tribesmen from Nubia, which had long existed on Tūtī Island at the meeting of the Blue and White Niles. His work as a religious teacher was crowned during the governor-generalship of his friend Ja'far Maḥzar Pasha (1282-88/1866-71) by the award (by firman of the Ottoman sultan) of the unique dignity of *ra'īs wa-mumayyiz 'ulamā' al-Sūdān*, i.e. president and rapporteur of the '*ulamā'*' of the Sudan. As *mufti* of the eastern Sudan, he was an opponent of the Mahdī's claims, and wrote (or was a signatory of) two manifestos against him. The Mahdī wrote to him twice, and on the eve of the fall of al-Khurṭūm particularly ordered his life to be spared.

From this it is clear that the Funj Chronicle was produced by a group of men of similar background and experience. Two, probably three of them, had grown up before the Turco-Egyptian conquest in the conditions of political fragmentation which characterized the former Funj realm. Under the new administration they achieved varying degrees of remunerative employment and social standing; they were still members of a Sudanese elite, although under changed political masters. So it is hardly surprising that they depict the revolutionary changes brought about by the Turco-Egyptian conquest without apparent anger or resentment, in spite of the bloodshed and distress it entailed for many of their compatriots. While individuals are censured, the alien regime as such (like the indigenous Funj and Hamaj regimes before it) is not criticized or denounced. The Chronicle ends before the outbreak of the Mahdīa was to assert the incompatibility of indigenous and alien, Sudanese and Turco-Egyptian, albeit that the nascent nationalism was still concealed behind a traditional Islamic ideology.



#### 4. The Translation

This translation is based on four versions of the Funj Chronicle. These are:—

1. MS. Cairo as printed in al-Shāṭir Buṣaylī 'Abd al-Jalīl, *Makḥūṭat Kātib al-Shūna*, collated when necessary with the original MS. and with MSS. Istanbul and Nottingham. This provides the basic text to 1254/1838. Its pagination is given in square brackets in the translation.

2. MS. Nottingham, collated when necessary with the inferior and shorter MS. Vienna. This provides some additional material for the period covered by MS. Cairo, which is inserted where appropriate in the translation, and also a fragmentary continuation to 1257/1841–2.

3. MS. Paris, the first recension of the Chronicle, made by al-Zubayr w. Dawwah, again provides material additional to MS. Cairo, which is inserted where appropriate. Its independent treatment of the Turco-Egyptian period, continued to 1280/1863, is translated in full, and its variant introduction is given in Appendix IA.

4. The final recension of the Chronicle by Ibrāhīm 'Abd al-Dāfi' differs from the first recension chiefly in the abridgement of the introduction (Appendix IB), and provision of some additional material (especially about the career of Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir w. al-Zayn). A concluding section (down to 1288/1871) was added by al-Amīn Muḥammad al-Ḍarīr. The additional material is inserted in the translation in the appropriate places. The translation is made from Makkī Shubayka, *Ta'rikh mulūk al-Sūdān*, a sound text of the final recension.

One or two points of translation should be noted. The Chroniclers frequently use the term *bilād al-Sūdān* to signify broadly the territory with which they are concerned. In classical Arabic terminology, this phrase, meaning "the land of the Blacks", designated a belt of territory south of the Sahara from the Red Sea to the Atlantic, in contradistinction to *bilād al-Būdān*, "the land of the Whites", lying north of the Sahara. The Chroniclers clearly have a more limited region in mind, approximately those parts of *bilād al-Sūdān* lying adjacent or near to the Blue and White Niles. I have tried to indicate this distinction by the phrase "the land of the Sūdān". After the Turco-Egyptian conquest, when an expanding area was brought under the rule of the viceroy of Egypt and his lieutenants, the term began to acquire its modern meaning in such phrases as *al-aqālīm al-Sūdāniyya*, "the Sudanese provinces", and "the Sudan" emerges as a specific political and territorial unit.

Certain terms are left untranslated, and their explanation relegated to the Glossary. These are mainly religious (especially Sufi) technical terms, and titles of political and military rank both in the Funj and the Turco-Egyptian periods. With regard to the latter, it should be borne in mind that the establishment of the Turco-Egyptian administration in the Sudan synchronized with Muḥammad 'Alī Pasha's reform and modernization of the governmental system in Egypt. In this state of flux both old and new terms for officials and administrative units appear, especially in the early years of the new regime.

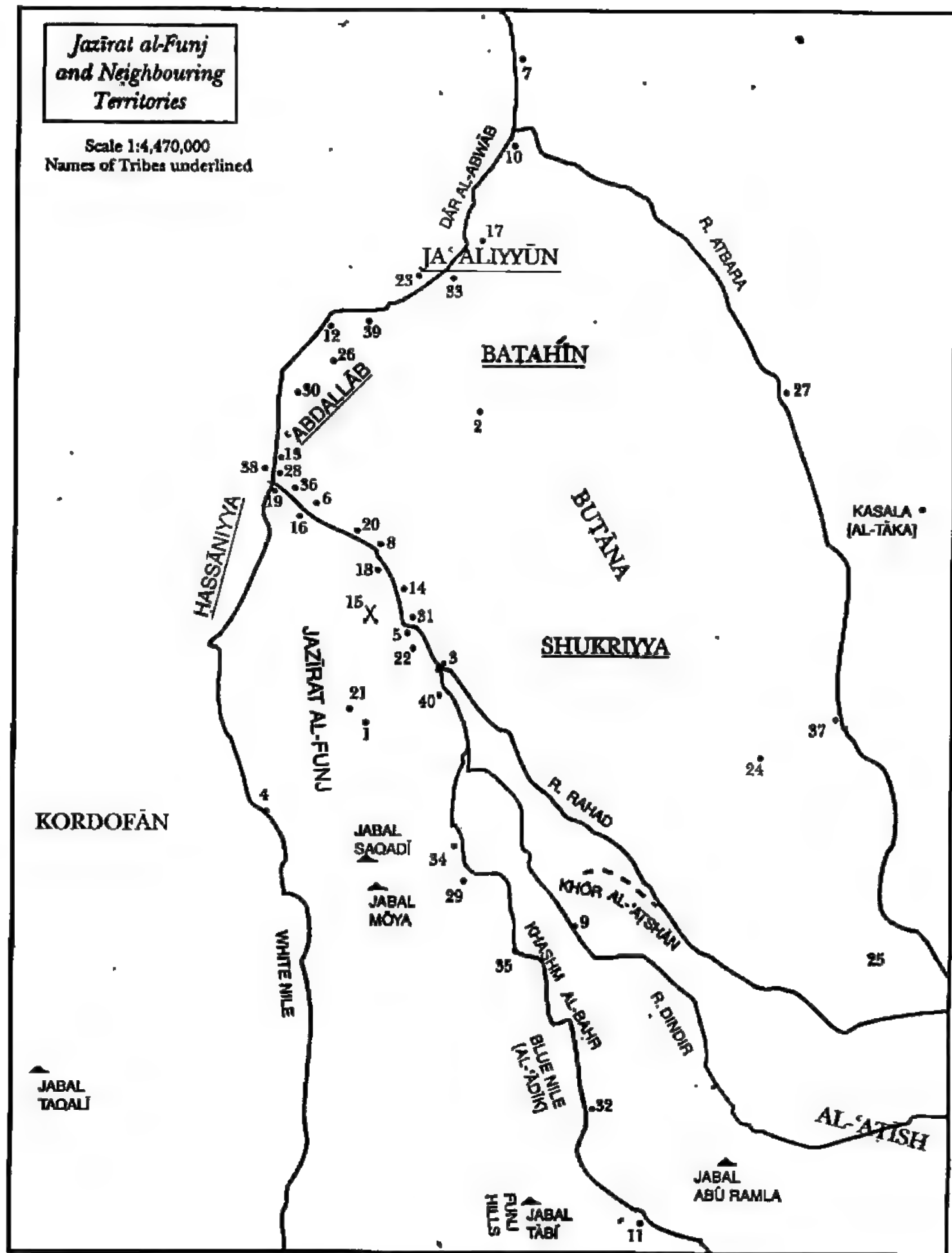
I have left untranslated the verse-passages, some of considerable length, which Kātib al-Shūna, following traditional chronicle-style, delighted to intersperse in his prose narrative, and which are largely edited out by his continuators. I can only plead in mitigation (apart from my own linguistic limitations) that the verses are of literary rather than historical importance, and that I am following the precedent set by Gaston Wiet in his French translation of Ibn Iyās's *Badā'i al-zuhūr*.

In conclusion, I wish to express my thanks to those libraries which have by means of photocopies of their manuscripts made possible this translation: Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya in Cairo for MSS. Cairo and Istanbul, the Library of the University of Nottingham and the Royal Geographical Society in London for MS. Nottingham, the Nationalbibliothek in Vienna for MS. Vienna, and the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris for MS. Paris. The Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies in London and its staff have helped me in many ways, and I am particularly obliged to Mr. Peter Colvin (Principal Assistant Librarian for the Islamic Near and Middle East) for his good offices. I am deeply grateful to my former colleagues, Professor Edward Ullendorff and Dr. Colin Heywood for advice on Ethiopian and Ottoman matters respectively, and to my Sudanese friends Dr. Mansour Y. Elagab, Mr. Osman Wagiallah and Dr. Khalid Almubarak Mustafa for advice on Sudanese dialect and other help. For remaining errors of fact and translation, I am solely responsible. Finally, I have drawn extensively on the work of my predecessors in this field, the late scholars al-Shāṭir Buṣaylī 'Abd al-Jalīl and Makī Shubayka, for material, especially in the notes and appendixes to this translation, which I dedicate to their memory.

## THE FUNJ CHRONICLE

# Jazīrat al-Funj and Neighbouring Territories

Scale 1:4,470,000  
Names of Tribes underlined>



Jazīrat al-Funj and Neighbouring Territories

1	ʿAbbūd	11	Fāzūghlī	21	-Manāqil	31	Rufāʿa
2	Abū Dilayq	12	Hajar al-ʿAsal	22	-Masallamiyya	32	-Ruṣayriṣ
3	Abū Ḥarāz	13	-Ḥalfāya	23	-Matamma	33	Shandī
4	Alāys	14	-Hilāliyya	24	-Qaḍārif	34	Sinnār
5	Arbajī	15	Inṭarahnā	25	-Qallābāt	35	Sīrū
6	-ʿAylafūn	16	-Jadīd	26	Qarrī	36	Sōba
7	Barbar	17	Kabūshiyya	27	Qōz Rajab	37	-Tūmāt
8	-Bashāqira	18	-Kāmlīn	28	Qubbat Khōjalī	38	Umm Durmān
9	Dabarkī	19	-Khurṭūm	29	-Rārāba	39	Walad Bān al-Naqā
10	-Dāmar	20	Kutrānj	30	-Rūyān	40	Walad Madanī

## 1. THE FUNJ KINGDOM AND THE HAMAJ REGENCY

[3]

In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate.

Praise be to God, the Creator and Restorer of creation, Who destroys the kings and causes them to perish, Who subdues by His great power the stubborn tyrant.

I testify that there is no deity but God alone without a partner; a testimony which delivers the speaker from terrors and the threat thereof. And I testify that our lord and master Muḥammad is His slave, His apostle and His beloved, sent to the free and the slaves of the two orders of being. May God bestow blessing and peace, eternally linked together in the course of days [old] and new, upon him, his people and his Companions, who by his *baraka* built the dome of Islam, laid its foundations, and raised its lofty walls.

And thereafter:

I have seen chronicles of the ancient peoples, enumerating the years of the former kings, and I wished to compile something to that end from the beginning of the settlement of Sinnār the divinely protected and guarded (may God the Creator exalt it), and to give an account of what it contained, and of its kings and their praiseworthy and pleasing lives, according to what I have heard with my ears, and seen with my eyes at the end of their rule.

I shall (God willing) give a detailed and comprehensive account of it according to what came to my ears [4] without any order, for I never saw it set in order; but there were tales in circulation, which were liable to chronological confusion, change and alteration. Hence al-ʿIrāqī (God's mercy be on him) said, "The enquirer should know that biographies combine what is correct with what is to be rejected."<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Al-ʿIrāqī: Abū Sulaymān al-ʿIrāqī was one of the traditional (but otherwise unknown) genealogists of the Sudan, the others being Maḥmūd al-Samarqandī, ʿAbdallāh b. Saʿīd al-Samarqandī and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Baḥrānī; cf. MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, 6-8. It will be noted that their names indicate that they were all aliens to the Sudan.



Let me begin my account by saying:—<sup>2</sup>

The Funj took possession of the land of the Nubians, and gained domination in it at the beginning of the tenth century; [the year 10]<sup>3</sup> after 900 [910/1504–5], and laid out the city of Sinnār. Makk ‘Amāra Dūnqas laid it out, and he was the first of them. The town of Arbajī was laid out thirty years previously; Hījāzī b. Ma‘īn laid it out. Hence it is clear that the settlement of Arbajī was [5] in the time of the ‘Anaj.<sup>4</sup> No school of learning or of the Qur’ān was known in that land. It is said that a man would divorce a woman, and another marry her on the same day without an ‘idda until Shaykh Maḥmūd al-‘Arakī<sup>5</sup> came from Egypt, and taught people about the ‘idda. He lived on the White Nile, and built himself a stronghold, which is now known by his name.

At the beginning of the second half of the tenth century [951/1544–5] Sultan ‘Amāra Abū Sikaykīn appointed Shaykh ‘Ajīb al-Mānjuluk. At the beginning of his rule Shaykh Ibrāhīm al-Bulād<sup>6</sup> came from Egypt to Dār al-Shāyqiyya,<sup>7</sup> and taught *fiqh* there, and the science of *fiqh* spread throughout the Peninsula.<sup>8</sup>

Then a little later came Shaykh Tāj al-Dīn al-Bahārī<sup>9</sup> from Baghdad, and introduced the Sufi Path into Dār al-Funj.

<sup>2</sup> The following passage is transcribed (with some variant readings of minor importance) from *Ṭabāqāt*, 40–3; cf. MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, 220–1.

<sup>3</sup> Added from *Ṭabāqāt*. These words are missing from MSS. of the original version of the Funj Chronicle, and from Buṣaylī’s edition. This is no doubt a haplography, and the resulting error is duplicated by the ascription to ‘Amāra Dūnqas of a reign of 40 years, ending in A.H. 940. In the recension by al-Zubayr w. Dawwāh the situation is ingeniously saved by distinguishing between the victory over the Nubians “at the beginning of the tenth century” and ‘Amāra’s foundation of Sinnār in the year A.H. 910 (MS. Paris, ff. 2r, 6r). The recension of Ibrāhīm ‘Abd al-Dāfi solves the problem by placing the victory over the Nubians “in the ninth century”, and putting ‘Amāra’s death (in common with the earlier authors) in A.H. 940, but with the addition that his reign lasted for 30 years (Shubayka, *Tārīkh*, Text, pp. 1 and 2).

<sup>4</sup> This sentence does not appear in the text of *Ṭabāqāt*, 41, and appears to be a comment interpolated by Kātib al-Shūna. ‘Anaj means the Nubians of the Sōba region. In Arabic script ‘Anaj is very similar to *Funj*, and hence confusions are liable to arise in manuscripts.

<sup>5</sup> MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, 252 (No. 157).

<sup>6</sup> Not in MacMichael’s summary translation of *Ṭabāqāt*, which was made from a defective manuscript.

<sup>7</sup> Shāyqiyya: cf. MacMichael, *Arabs*, I, 213–21.

<sup>8</sup> The Peninsula: *al-jazīra* or *jazīrat Sinnār*; the land between the Blue and White Niles, conventionally styled in English as the Gezira.

<sup>9</sup> MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, 233 (No. 67).

Then came Shaykh al-Tilimsānī al-Maghribī to Shaykh Muḥammad w. 'Isā Suwār al-Dhahab,<sup>10</sup> and initiated him into the Path of the People,<sup>11</sup> and taught him *kalām* and the Qur'ānic sciences—the *riwāyāt*, *tajwīd* and so forth. *Tawḥīd* and *tajwīd* spread in the Peninsula, for 'Abdallāh [6] al-Aghbash<sup>12</sup> and Naṣr, the father of the *faqīh* Abū Sinayna<sup>13</sup> at Arbajī, learnt the Qur'ān from him.

Then the sanctity of Shaykh Idrīs<sup>14</sup> became manifest without any shaykh coming to him, and it was said that he received it from the Apostle (on whom be blessing and peace). Also it is said that a man from the Maghrib named 'Abd al-Kāfī came to him by means of the *khaṭwa*.

[MS. Nottingham, p. 5]

And there was found in his pocket after his death a statement, "My shaykh in the Path was 'Abd al-Kāfī al-Maghribī, the one possessed by the *Ḥaqīqa*, and my shaykh was the *Qutb* Shaykh 'Alī al-Khawwād, the dayspring of the land of India."

A little later the sanctity of Shaykh Ḥasan w. Ḥassūna<sup>15</sup> became manifest by assistance from the Apostle of God (on whom be the blessing of God and peace).

Then came Shaykh Muḥammad b. Qaram to Dār Barbar,<sup>16</sup> and introduced the Shāfi'ī *madhhab*, and his *madhhab* spread through the Peninsula.

Let us return to the account of the kings, the exposition of the length of the reign of each one, the end of his rule, and the events and occurrences in his time so far as it is possible.

The beginning of their rule, according to what is commonly said, was that the Funj at the start were at a place called Lūlū (with two heavy l's).<sup>17</sup> They were there as long as God willed them to dwell there.

<sup>10</sup> MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, 258 (No. 191).

<sup>11</sup> The Way of the People: *ṭarīq al-qawm*, i.e. the Qādiriyya order of Sufis; cf. Trimingham, *Islam in the Sudan*, 217–22.

<sup>12</sup> MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, 226 (No. 31).

<sup>13</sup> MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, 229 (No. 51).

<sup>14</sup> MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, 246–7 (No. 141).

<sup>15</sup> MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, 244–5 (No. 132); also text and translation in Hillelson, *Sudan Arabic texts*, 194–9.

<sup>16</sup> MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, 256 (No. 181).

<sup>17</sup> Heavy l's: pronounced as in the word *Allah*.

[MS. Nottingham, pp. 5-6]

It is said that they were from the Umayyads. When the realm was wrested from them, and the 'Abbasids caused them to flee, two of their men entered this country, and had children by the women; and they became very numerous.

If one asked the Funj, they said that they were Banū Hilāla [sic]. The common story is that their chiefs would assemble with their chief. They would bring food, and he who came first would eat the whole lot. They were dwelling at Jaylī until a man arrived from the north. He settled among them, looked into their affairs, and advised them. Whenever food arrived, he would keep it; and when they were assembled, he would proceed to distribute it among them. So they would eat, and the remainder would be left over. So they said, "A man with *baraka*. Why should he leave us?" So they married him to the daughter of their king, and she bore a son. He grew up, and his grandfather died; so they agreed that they would put him in his grandfather's place, and that all would follow him. They did so, and thence they were called the Ūnsāb.

They dwelt in their known place. When they wished to migrate from it, they made an '*angarēb* of palm-fibres for their king, and likewise for his wife; and they carried them until they stopped with them at Jabal Mōyā. They were tall, strong and tough. Each one of them would carry his provisions and his water on his shoulder when he travelled.

When they became rulers, the '*angarēb* also became a ritual custom. When they made a new king for themselves, they married him to a descendant of that woman, and they called her "the daughter of the sun's eye". They would carry them in the preceding manner to the *hōsh* of the *jundī*, and confine them there for nine days. Then they would take them out to a place known to them, where '*awā'id* would come out from the earth to them. They would augur favourably from their coming out, and consider the portents unfavourable if they were lacking. This continued among them until the end of their rule. God knows best; I seek pardon of God Almighty, and repent before Him.

[7] Then they migrated to Jabal Mōyā, which is a well-known hill, and dwelt there.

Then when God willed the manifestation of His command to make them rulers over His people, they had cattle, among them a bull.

The bull would go by night to the<sup>f</sup> lowland of Sinnār. There was not a settlement there; only it was said that a slave-girl called Sinn Nār was dwelling on the bank there, and the city was called after her when it was settled. Then that bull used to go down to graze in that lowland by night, and it would come back in the same night. So they followed it one day, and saw her dwelling-place and her river. So they came down from Mōya, and *Makk* 'Amāra Dūnqas felled her trees.

He was the first of them, and became their king after he had fought the 'Anaj with 'Abdallāh al-Quraynātī al-Qāsimī, the father of 'Ajīb al-Kāfūta, and returned there. His kingdom remained there, and he appointed 'Abdallāh as shaykh in Qarrī.<sup>18</sup> The kingdom was his and his descendants' after him until Nōl. His reign was forty years, and the end of his reign was in the year 940 [1533-4].

Then after him reigned his son 'Abd al-Qādir until 950 [1543-4], so that his reign was ten years.

[8] Then after him reigned his brother Nāyil until 962 [1554-5], so that his reign was twelve years.

Then after him reigned 'Amāra<sup>19</sup> until 970 [1562-3], so that his reign was eight years.

[MS. Paris, f. 6r (foliation lacking in MS., supplied by translator)]. In his days 'Abdallāh Jammā' passed away to the mercy of God, and King 'Amāra appointed his son Shaykh 'Ajīb al-Kāfūta in his place over the shaykhdom of Qarrī.

Then after him reigned Dakīn b. Nāyil until 985 [1577-8], so that his reign was fifteen years.

[MS. Paris, f. 6r]

He was known as "the king of the customary usage",<sup>20</sup> because he organized the government offices excellently, and caused them to proceed according to fixed regulations which none of the royal officials was to transgress. He appointed a recognized chief for every part of his kingdom, and fixed his functions; and the manner of their entry and sitting in his presence was according to precedence of rank.

<sup>18</sup> Qarrī and the 'Abdallāb: see A.E.D. Penn, "Traditional stories of the 'Abdullab tribe", *SNR*, XVII/1, 1934, 59-82.

<sup>19</sup> MS. Paris adds: Abū Sikaykīn.

<sup>20</sup> King of the customary usage: *malik al-'āda*; cf. p. 14, n. 42; p. 166.

Then after him reigned his brother Dōrah<sup>21</sup> until 993 [1585], so that his reign was eight years.

Then after him reigned King Ṭabl until the year 997 [1588–9], so that his reign was four years.

Then after him reigned Unsa until the year 1009 [1600–1], so that his reign was twelve years.

Then after him reigned ‘Abd al-Qādir until 1013 [1604–5], so that the length of his reign was four years.<sup>22</sup>

Then after him reigned *Makk* ‘Adlān w. Āyā, who was the victor of the battle of Karkōj. It was he who killed Shaykh ‘Ajīb al-Kāfūta, when he rebelled against him, and disobeyed him. He advanced on him from Sinnār; and it is said that he halted at Altī, and sent the army against him. Shaykh ‘Ajīb and those with him encountered them at a place called Walad Abī ‘Amāra, which is in the vicinity of Karkōj.<sup>23</sup> [9] So they fought there, and Shaykh ‘Ajīb was killed. The *makk*’s war-band was victorious, and the sons of Shaykh ‘Ajīb fled to Dunqula. Then the *makk* sent Shaykh Idrīs w. al-Arbāb to them. He was the first *martaba* to become manifest among the Funj. He gave them a safeconduct, and they came with him. He appointed one of them, al-‘Ujayl, as shaykh. The length of his reign was until the year 1016 [1607–8], so that the length of his reign was three years.<sup>24</sup>

Then after him reigned King Bādī Sīd al-Qōm, and the length of his reign was until the year 1023 [1614–15], and its length was seven years.

Then after him reigned Irbāt,<sup>25</sup> and his reign was until the year 1052 [1642–3], so that his reign was 29 years.

Then after him reigned his son Bādī Abū Diqīn, who was renowned for courage and generosity. It is said that the breadth of his chest was three spans. It was he who fought the Shilluk, put them to flight, and captured them.

<sup>21</sup> MS. Nottingham: Dōkah. Name omitted in MS. Paris.

<sup>22</sup> He ended his reign as an exile in Chelga in Ethiopia; cf. Crawford, *Funj kingdom*, 180.

<sup>23</sup> Karkōj: MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, 57–8, n. ccxvi, makes an unnecessary emendation to Kalkōl. Shubayka, *Ta’rikh*, Notes, 2/6 (p. 4), identifies the site with Jirayf Karkōj, near to al-Khurṭūm and east of the Blue Nile.

<sup>24</sup> After the battle of Karkōj, *Makk* ‘Adlān advanced with his forces to Mushū in the Dunqula region, where he was deposed by the Funj, and succeeded by Bādī, his *sīd al-qōm*; MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, 268–9 (summary translation of *Ṭabāqāt*).

<sup>25</sup> Irbāt: variant form of Rubāt, which is more common.



Then after his victory over them, he advanced on Taqalī.<sup>26</sup> It is said that the reason for his coming to Taqalī was that its king had taken the chattels of a friend of *Makk* Bādī. They said to him, "This is the *makk*'s friend," and he said, "Truly the *makk* will not cross the plain of Umm Lammā'." When that man came and told him, he resolved on an expedition. He told his friend to tell him when they entered the plain of Umm Lammā'. When they entered it and told him, he dismounted from his beast, and his troops dismounted. They went on foot until one of the troops, being exceedingly weary, said to the man, "Tell the *makk* we have crossed it." So he mounted, and his troops mounted. He proceeded to blockade the hills, killing and taking captives, until he reached the *makk* of [10] Taqalī. So he blockaded him, while he fortified himself against him in his strongholds. He used to fight them by day, and send them hospitable gifts by night. So he made peace with him for that reason and for his evident magnanimity. He laid a certain tax upon him, and returned to Sinnār. He put the captive Nūba' with some of the people of Taqalī, some on the east [bank] and some on the west, and they built villages around to encircle Sinnār as if they were a fence around it.

[MS. Paris, f. 8r-v]

The king returned to Sinnār with the captives he had gained from the Nūba and Taqalī. On his arrival at Sinnār he gave an appointed dwelling-place to each tribe of the Nūba, and appointed a village for every tribe. These villages surrounded Sinnār like a fence around it. Some of them he sent to the east bank opposite Sinnār, and he likewise appointed places and villages for them. All the Nūba dwelt in the places which the king had appointed for them. He trained them, and they became part of his soldiery. They multiplied in those villages, and their descendants were there until the end of the Fūnj. Each village had its name from the tribe dwelling there, amongst them Taqalī, al-Kadarū, al-Kanak, al-Karkū, and other tribes.

He was strong and generous, honouring men of learning and religion. He used to send gifts to the 'ulamā' in Egypt and elsewhere with his caravan-leaders. He was eulogized by Shāykh 'Umar al-Maghribī,

<sup>26</sup> Taqalī: the account by R.J. Elles, "The kingdom of Tegali", *SNR*, XVIII/1, 1935, 1-35, is now largely superseded by Janet J. Ewald, *Soldiers, traders, and slaves*, Wisconsin, 1990.

the *muftī* of al-Azhar,<sup>27</sup> and other '*ulamā*' when he sent them his abundant gifts with his caravan-leader Aḥmad w. 'Ulwān, the grandfather of Ya'qūb w. Abū [*sic*] Bakr. He built the mosque after its foundation by his father, and placed in it the window brought by al-Ḥājj Sayyid Ṣāhib al-'Idī.<sup>28</sup> His noble qualities were many, and his good traits famous. It is sufficient [to mention] the eulogies of the '*ulamā*' of al-Azhar in remarkable odes of unusual eloquence, amongst them the ode of the said Shaykh 'Umar.

The length of his reign was until the year 1088 [1677-8], so that its length was 36 years. God's mercy be on him.

[Two sets of verses of 66 and 58 lines respectively follow.]<sup>29</sup>

[17] The excellence of his eulogizers and their praise of him is sufficient for the excellence of this king. The mercy of God Most High be on them and on us all.

[MS. Paris, f. 11r-v]

As I have previously mentioned, it was this king who built the mosque in Sinnār, and likewise he built the palace of the government. He made it of five storeys, one on the other, and he built numerous places for the deposit of government property, such as weapons and so forth, as well as houses for the womenfolk, and the office for his sessions. He had two offices, one outside the great palace, and one inside the palace wall. He made a great wall encircling everything. In that wall he made nine gates, and appointed for each of the magnates of his state a gate whereby to enter and go out. Likewise he made for each of the magnates of his state an office of his own, in which to sit and look into what concerned him. If a magnate wished to enter the king's office, he would enter alone, unaccompanied by any of his followers. As for the ninth gate, only the king himself and Walad 'Ajīb could enter and go out thereby. All these gates opened in one wall in a straight line. In front of these gates was a roof sup-

<sup>27</sup> Al-Azhar: the great mosque in Cairo.

<sup>28</sup> Al-Ḥājj Sayyid or Sa'īd was the son of Dāwūd b. 'Abd al-Jalīl, who came to the Sudan in 951/1544-5 with Tāj al-Dīn al-Bahārī, an early *khalīfa* of the Qādiriyya order in the Sudan; cf. MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, 233 (No. 67); 283-4.

<sup>29</sup> The first of these two odes is given in MS. Cairo, and is there attributed to Shaykh 'Umar al-Maghribī. It is, however, identified by Buṣaylī (p. 11 n. 3) as having been adapted from an ode in praise of Bayezid II (regn. 886-918/1481-1512). Buṣaylī (p. 14, n. 1) believes that the second ode (in MS. Paris, not MS. Cairo) was also adapted from an unknown source.

ported by pillars. In it was a high bench known as "the bench of him who calls upon thee".

When the rule of the Funj declined, and the Hamaj gained domination, much of these houses was demolished, and the great palace fell into dilapidation. It remained until the time of the late Ismā'īl Pasha, the son of his late Highness, our lord al-Ḥājj Muḥammad 'Alī Pasha. A few months after the entry of the late Ismā'īl Pasha, the storeyed [?] palace fell down. Its traces were effaced and obliterated, and nothing of it remains. Praise be to Him Whose kingdom knows no end.

Then after him reigned his brother's son, Ūnsā w. Nāṣir, in whose reign occurred the year of Umm Laḥm,<sup>30</sup> which was a year of dearth accompanied by an epidemic of smallpox.<sup>31</sup> It is said that because of the severity of the dearth, people ate dogs. Among information that I was given by trustworthy persons was that Sulaymān w. Muṣawwiṭ came in this year, and he had five hundred loads.<sup>32</sup> Jawhar, the freedman of the *khawāja* 'Abd al-Raḥmān w. Tōm, and Ṣubāḥī al-Shajarābī had the same quantity. So he sent to them, saying, "Paradise has come upon the market", i.e. for sale. Of Ṣubāḥī they tell that he answered him, saying, "Thou art a fool." As for him, he devoted all his efforts to the distributing of all he had; so that it is said that one night, when eyes were closed in sleep, his wife brought him a cooked and stuffed fowl. As he put his hand on it, lo! a woman cried, "O son of Muṣawwiṭ, I am in travail and starving!" He arose with it for her. His wife seized it, and told him to give her something else; so he said to her, "Thou art divorced!". So she let him go, and he is renowned.

As for Jawhar, the *khawāja*'s freedman, he was instructed to sell. It is said that Bilāl al-Misayqī came from the south with slaves, and asked him to sell the grain. He refused unless the value of the grain was set down in writing, for his handwriting was known, and it was his intention to settle his account with the *khawāja* thereby. So from the beginning of the day to its end he went on writing the price of the grain for him. Then he departed, carrying on his back grain worth a *waḡiyya* [of gold]. But God did not bless him and his master in this. His master was away trading, and when he arrived on

<sup>30</sup> Umm Laḥm: an ironical name. "the Mother of Meat".

<sup>31</sup> The year is dated 1095/1683-4 in MS. Paris, f. 11v.

<sup>32</sup> MS. Paris adds: of millet.

the east [bank] opposite Arbajī, his freedman Jawhar, was dead. [18] Then he entered Arbajī after his death, and searched for the price of the corn which he had sold in the dearth, but he did not find it.

Most probably it was as the *'ulamā'* say, "The price of corn in a dearth brings no profit. The Prophet (blessings and peace be on him) said, "Whoever wishes for a dearth upon my Community shall find his work of no avail for forty days or a year. "This is one account. In another, the Prophet (God bless him and grant him peace) declared that he was quit of him, and that the monopolist is accursed, as in the well-known Tradition.

And Ūnsā's reign was until the year 1100 [1688–9], and his reign was twelve years.

Then after him reigned his son Bādī al-Aḥmar,<sup>33</sup> against whom the *Amīn* Irdāb and his people, the Funj, rebelled, and Shaykh Walad 'Ajīb was with them. They fought him, and made a king called Awkal to be ruler over them. They wished to depose [Bādī], and all of them, about a thousand horsemen, came to fight him. He had only forty-five horsemen with him. He fought and routed them, and pursued them to Khōr al-'Aṭshān.<sup>34</sup> He killed the *Amīn* Irdāb *amīn al-Funj*, and returned safely. He was courageous, and held in awe.<sup>35</sup>

In his time were manifested the *karamāt* of the pious saint, Shaykh

<sup>33</sup> Bādī al-Aḥmar: a description of an audience with this king is given by the French traveller Poncet; see William Foster (ed.), *The Red Sea and adjacent countries at the close of the seventeenth century*, London, 1949, 102–3.

<sup>34</sup> MS. Nottingham: al-'Aṭish.

<sup>35</sup> Some information about the revolt against Bādī al-Aḥmar is given in the notice of the holy man Khalīl Ibn al-Rūmī in *Ṭabāqāt*, 203–4 (cf. MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, 249 (No. 153).

"When all the troops of Qarrī, Sinnār and Alays revolted against the king of the Funj, and the troops surrounded him on every side, and killed all who were with him but thirty horsemen, he hid in the *ḥōsh* of Kimēr, the king's daughter, his sister. Kimēr went to Shaykh Khalīl, and said, 'My lord, my brother has lost his kingdom, and I fear that he will be destroyed by his slaves.' He said to her, 'Your brother is an oppressor and corrupt.' She said, 'I will bring him to you, and he will with your help repent of oppression and corruption.' He said, 'Bring him.' She went to the king, found him in hiding, and clothed him in a woman's dress. When he came before the shaykh, he said to him, 'I repent of what you have forbidden me. He said to him, 'The Funj have taken the turban of the kingdom from you. Here is my turban, and I give you assurance of the kingdom until you die; but when you go to battle, take me and take Hājī 'Amāra.' So when morning came, he went out against those hosts with thirty horsemen, and he took the shaykh and al-Hājī 'Amāra as the shaykh had bidden him. He defeated them by the shaykh's *baraka*, and slew them in a great slaughter; and he remained king until he died. He was *Makk* Bādī al-Aḥmar b. Unsa. b. *Makk* Nāṣir.

Ḥamad w. al-Turābī.<sup>36</sup> It is said that when he was in Mecca the Ennobled, he sent his disciple Mīrāf, and said to him, "Say, 'The Mahdī has descended!'" So he came in the reign of that *makk*, and did as his shaykh had commanded him. Then the *makk* seized him, and killed him. Then God Most High sent down upon them unseasonable<sup>37</sup> rain. The floodwaters ran, the houses were demolished, and Khōr Umm Khinayjir (as it is now known) appeared after the rain. For they had dragged<sup>38</sup> Mīrāf into it, and they wanted to make an example of him. Then God sent these rains, which came between them and him.

Another of his famous *karāmāt* was with Walad al-Tumāmī and the *maqdūms* and [19] the war-bands with them. Supernatural occurrences were manifested among them until the *makk* sent to prevent them from entering Sinnār before the shaykh had taken his due from them. Some of them died of cold in the cultivated lands, and some of them menstruated like women. As for Walad al-Tumāmī, he died, and was found headless. Then the shaykh sent to the *makk*, saying, "Say to Walad Awdiyya, 'You have constrained me until I put the *sirr* into the boozers of *marīsa*. By God, if you do not turn again, I will verily break your head with the *sirr* of God!'"

He reigned until the year 1127 [1715], and his reign was twenty-seven years.

Then after him reigned his son Ūnsā, who was addicted to pastimes, amusement and lust with men and women, so that he was suspected of shameful behaviours and great abomination. When this came to the knowledge of his people, the Funj, they and the troops of Lūlū sought to depose him. It was they who deposed and appointed before the rule of the Hamaj over them and the wresting of the realm from their hands, but they used to depose without killing. So they fought him, and came from the south. When they reached al-Kubūsh, they appointed *Makk Nōl* as king. Then they sent to deceive him, and said to him, "Kill your *wazīr*, Shaykh Diyāb, and we will confirm you as ruler." At first he hesitated to kill him; then he killed him. Then he sent to them but they would accept only his deposition, and sent to him accordingly. So he sent to them the *khaṭīb*

<sup>36</sup> For Ḥamad w. al-Turābī (al-Nahlān), see MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, 242-3 (No. 125); also text and translation in Hillelson, *Sudan Arabic texts*, 174-93. MS. Nottingham indicates that *Ṭabāqāt* is the source of the two incidents given in the Chronicle.

<sup>37</sup> MS. Nottingham inserts: heavy.

<sup>38</sup> MS. Nottingham inserts: the bier of.



‘Abd al-Latīf,<sup>39</sup> the notables of the town, the *‘ulamā*’ and others, and sought peace with them and [20] their confirmation of him as king. They refused, and ill-treated them, insulting them so that they were afraid. So they were convinced, and came to the *makk*. They told him what they had said, and of their insults, their refusal to make peace and confirm him as king. So he gave up hope, and sent to them for a safeconduct for himself, his sons and his family after his deposition. They gave him a safeconduct, and deposed him. He, his sons and all his family went out.

The length of his reign was until the year 1130 [1717–18].

Then after him reigned Nōl, who was *sīd qōm al-shams*. He was related to the Ūnsāb<sup>40</sup> on the female side, not from the line of his predecessors but their line was cut off after Unsā. They appointed Nōl over them. He was a wise, elderly and just man. It is said that they called him Nōm because of the strictness of his justice.<sup>41</sup> His reign was until the year 1135 [1722–3], and its length was four years and eight months.

Then after him reigned his son, *Makk Bādī* Abū Shulūkh. He was the last of the kings to hold power. After him real kingship ended, and it became a customary institution.<sup>42</sup> After him the power to loose and bind rested with the Hamaj. We shall (God willing) give an account of their regime and their domination over the Funj.

[Shubayka, p. 6]

They [the Hamaj] are a group of descendants of the Arabs intermarried with the Nubians. And it is said that they are a branch of the ‘Awāḍiyya Ja‘aliyyūn connected with our lord al-‘Abbās b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib. And God knows best.

As for that king, he passed a long time as ruler, and grew old; but at the end of his life he followed his lust, and became an oppressor.

<sup>39</sup> ‘Abd al-Latīf succeeded his father ‘Ammār as *khaṣīb* of Sinnār, his birthplace. He was an eminent jurist of the Shāfi‘ī *madhhab*. In consequence of trouble with the king, he made the Pilgrimage to Mecca, where he lived for some time, meeting scholars from various lands, and studying. He was put to death by Bādī Abū Shulūkh after being falsely accused by his cousins; cf. MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, 222, (No. 9), the last sentence is incorrectly rendered.

<sup>40</sup> The Ūnsāb were the ruling clan of the Funj; for their origin-legend see Appendix II (b).

<sup>41</sup> MS. Paris is more explicit: In his days the subjects had complete repose, and they called him Sleep [*Nām* for *Nōl*] because of the strictness of his justice.

<sup>42</sup> Customary institution: *‘āda*; cf. p. 7, n. 20.

At the beginning of his reign he was young. His vicegerent was his *wazīr*, Dōkah, who was a wise and just man. When Dōkah died, he occupied himself with the government. He slew the remnant of [21] the Ūnsāb, and uprooted the noble families from their estates. He was supported by the Nūba, and gave them the estates of the noble families. Likewise he appointed shaykhs from the Fūr, the people of <sup>43</sup> Walad Janqal,<sup>44</sup> and was supported by them against the Funj and the former royal house.

It was in his time that the Abyssinians came.<sup>45</sup> Sultan Iyāsū<sup>46</sup> came alone against him without his distant *wazīrs*. He came with about thirty thousand men. I have seen in a torn fragment that he went forth towards Sinnār with a hundred thousand men. It is said that before he set out, he informed the *qāḍī* (the *qāḍī* of the Jabart,<sup>47</sup> i.e. *Qāḍī* Muḥammad), and asked his advice. He said, "Ask the pious men of the Muslims, your people the Jabart, whether I should set out for Sinnār or not." So the *qāḍī* asked a man of the Jabart, who was famous for piety and *kashf*, called Shaykh Muḥammad Qanbaṭ. He said, "Let him not set out or he will be defeated. The sign of his defeat is that when his army draws near the town, they will kill a pious man at his devotions in the shade of a tree, as he sits on a sheepskin with a rosary in his hand." Also a shaykh among the *maqdūms* of his army saw a vision indicating his defeat. He saw as if they were fighting beneath the sky [?], and he himself was killed. He was assured of defeat and death; so he advised his people that if he were killed, his treasure was buried near the threshold of his home at so many cubits.<sup>48</sup>

When Sultan Iyāsū set out and advanced until he drew near to the town, it duly happened that his army killed the pious man in the shade of the tree. So *Qāḍī* Muḥammad informed Sultan Iyāsū of that, and said to him, "Return! This is the sign of defeat." [22] He refused, saying, "I am assured of it, but having got so far I cannot retreat." So he set out for the town. When *Makk* Bādī heard,

<sup>43</sup> MS. Nottingham inserts: Khamīs.

<sup>44</sup> Janqal, who belonged to the Musabba'āt tribe, was the ruler of Kordofān. His son, Khamīs, with a following of Fūr (here synonymous with Musabba'āt) sought service with Bādī Abū Shulūkh as described in the Chronicle. Cf. R.S. O'Fahey and J.L. Spaulding, "Hāshim and the Musabba'āt", *BSOAS*, XXXV, 1972, 321-2.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. Crawford, *Funj kingdom*.

<sup>46</sup> Sultan Iyāsū: the Negus Iyāsū II (regn. 1730-55).

<sup>47</sup> Jabart: the Muslims of Ethiopia; cf. E. Ullendorff, *DJABART*, *EI*2, II, 355.

<sup>48</sup> The Sudanese cubit (*dhira'*) is 58 cm.

he asked for the prayers of all the *marātib*, and sent messages to those at a distance. The Muslims were greatly troubled, and turned to God in prayer, imploring him with tears. Then He Who answers the prayer of the needy made answer, and enabled *Makk Bādī* to bring them victory. So he mustered his army, and put the *amīn* in command over them. With them was a company of *maqdūms* and horsemen renowned for their horsemanship. They crossed over the river to the east [bank], to Sultan Khamīs, the sultan of the Fūr. They joined forces, and advanced. So they encountered Sultan Iyāsū near to Yamūn and 'Ajīb on the Dindir; it is said that the place is called al-Zakiyyāt. They fought with some of the army of Iyāsū. He was sitting in his tent, and with him were his *wazīr* and his maternal uncle Walad Allūl,<sup>49</sup> who was lying supine on a bed [?]. So God defeated the army of Iyāsū. They went away in their own time, and he did not pursue them. This was the doing of God Most High, succour from Him and help for Islam. He was gracious to the Muslims: praise be to God, the Lord of the worlds.

*Makk Bādī* and the people rejoiced. They fulfilled their vows, and held the *Mawlid* feasts. They slaughtered feast-animals, spread silken cloths, and illuminated the mosque and the market-place for seven days. The sultan of Rūm<sup>50</sup> heard, and rejoiced at the victory of Islam and the Faith. This battle was in the month of Šafar al-Khayr in the year 1157 [March–April 1744]. Then after a time [Bādī] returned to his pastime and his oppression, following his lust with many women, both free-born and otherwise.

In the year '60 [1747] in his reign Muḥammad Abū Likaylik became shaykh. We shall give an account of his career [23] (God willing) shortly in its place. Then [Bādī] persisted in his oppression. In the year 1170 [1756–7] he killed the *khaṭīb* 'Abd al-Laṭīf. Also his older sons caused much mischief, and he was unable to dissuade them from what they were about. His oppression and injustice continued to increase.

[MS. Nottingham, p. 22]

The 'arīf Dāwūd died from oppression and enmity.

<sup>49</sup> Walad Allūl: Walda Le'ul. I am obliged to Professor Ullendorff for this identification.

<sup>50</sup> The sultan of Rūm: the Ottoman sultan (Mahmud I, regn. 1143–68/1730–54).

Whenever he was angry with anyone, he would arrest him, and send him to his village of al-'Akkūra to dig with the slaves in his *hafir*. Around him gathered wastrels from all parts, ragamuffins and others. He drove out Walad Kunta, levied dues on all the villages, and left no *martaba* or anyone else unplundered.

Also he did not leave unplundered the slave-households<sup>51</sup> of the *maqdūms* who were in the west with Shaykh Muḥammad Abū Likaylik.<sup>52</sup> So they went to him, and said, "We disown this *makk*. How would you deal with him?" He said to them, "I said to you previously that he should not continue as *makk* to you and lord to us."<sup>53</sup> You refused, and disregarded my plan; and now what has happened has happened. So take counsel among your selves." So they took counsel about deposing him, and Shaykh Muḥammad concluded the matter with them. He undertook the business with diligence and application, and was commissioned with the whole affair. He made preparations with the whole army, the Funj and the royal household, and set out from Kordofāl to fight the *makk*. In the year '74 [1760-1] he halted among the Jima',<sup>54</sup> and crossed to Alays. He sent a deceitful message to Nāṣir, the *makk*'s son, and wrote offering him the kingdom. There had previously been communication between them. When this reached Nāṣir, he left secretly, and joined Shaykh Muḥammad in Alays. They all set out for Sinnār to depose the *makk*. When they arrived, they besieged him, and said to him, "Go forth under the safeconduct of God." So he went forth in humiliation with a small retinue, and crossed to the east [bank] while they entered Sinnār. This is what happened to him, and it was in the year 1175 [1761-2].

[24] Let us return (God willing) to the account of the emergence of Shaykh Muḥammad Abu Likaylik and their [*sic*] career and domination over the Funj. It is said that Shaykh Muḥammad Abū Likaylik was the son of Bādī, the son of Kitū. It was a custom of theirs to call them shaykhs.<sup>55</sup> When Shaykh Muḥammad grew to maturity, he became a skilled and brilliantly fortunate horseman. He was a follower of Shaykh Muḥammad w. Tūma from the people of the

<sup>51</sup> Slave households: *āl* (Buṣaylī). MS. Nottingham reads *awlād*, sons.

<sup>52</sup> MS. Nottingham inserts before "So": These Funj *maqdūms* heard.

<sup>53</sup> Lord: *sayyid*; perhaps an indication of the different nature of the ruler's authority over the Funj *maqdūms* and the Hamaj.

<sup>54</sup> Jima': a tribe claiming links with the Ja'aliyyūn, having its territory on the west bank of the White Nile; cf. MacMichael, *Arabs*, I, 229-30.

<sup>55</sup> Shaykhs: *shiyākh* (an unusual colloquial plural).

troops of Tūt, the *makk's* *wazīr*, and he himself was one of his followers. *Makk* Bādī fitted out the war-band for one of the Musabba'āt campaigns with Walad Tūma at their head. He sent with him Shaykh 'Abdallāh and Shammām from Awlād 'Ajīb. The commander of the war-band at that time was Walad Tūma. They fought at Qihayf, and Walad Tūma and Shaykh 'Abdallāh were killed. The *makk's* war-band was defeated.<sup>56</sup> Shaykh Muḥammad stood his ground with Bādī w. Rajab and 'Adlān w. Šubāḥī, and delivered the *makk's* war-band from destruction. Then they confronted one another at a place known as Shamqatā. They fought together, and Shammām w. 'Ajīb was killed [MS. Paris, f. 13v: and al-'Ujayl his son]. The war-band was defeated, and Shaykh Muḥammad held out, preventing the rout of the war-band. His excellence became known to all the war-bands, so that the *makk* sent to them, and put all the war-bands who had been with Walad Tūma under the leadership of Shaykh Muḥammad Abū Likaylik. He fought Musabba'āt with them, and God gave him victory and success so that Musabba'āt quitted Kordofāl. The hearts of the troops bore his imprint; they became his comrades, and all the chiefs submitted to him.

With him was Shaykh 'Adlān w. Šubāḥī; when he found it opportune, he designated him as governor of the territory of Khashm al-Baḥr.<sup>57</sup> He was like his blood-brother. The *wazīr* of Shaykh Muḥammad was the *faqīh* Muḥammad w. Abi'l-Ḥasan [25] al-Kāhilī, who was a *faqīr* in his company. Shaykh Muḥammad was illiterate, and could not read. [The *faqīh*] used to do him the friendly office of cropping his skull; and when he reached the position he did, he made him his *wazīr*, and gave him plenary powers. He had such influence that there was enmity between him and Bādī w. Rajab. The standing of Bādī w. Rajab with Shaykh Muḥammad was well-known; he was on the west [bank], while Shaykh Muḥammad was in Sinnār. Then Walad Abi'l-Ḥasan promoted Rajab w. Muḥammad [Abī Likaylik], his father's chamberlain,<sup>58</sup> to the post of *wazīr*, and gave him the drum<sup>59</sup> without Shaykh Muḥammad's permission. He reproved him for that. It is said that when he wanted to go on Pilgrimage to the

<sup>56</sup> On this campaign, see the article by O'Fahey and Spaulding (n. 44 above) at p. 322.

<sup>57</sup> Khashm al-Baḥr: the riverain district from Sinnār upstream. MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, 413-14, reports a tradition that there were two shaykhs, one for the villages (*shaykh Khashm al-Baḥr*), the other for the cultivable lands.

<sup>58</sup> Chamberlain: *khashm ḥāsh abīhi*, literally "the mouth of his father's courtyard".

<sup>59</sup> The drum (*naqqāra*) was the sign of office.



Holy House of God, he made the Pilgrimage on his horse, bringing it aboard ship with him, so that he disembarked with it, and he gave it to one of the Ashrāf.

And let us return. When Shaykh Muḥammad Abū Likaylik sought to enter Sinnār, the realm at that time was organized for the benefit of the Funj and their king. The story goes that they desired one of the Fallāta,<sup>60</sup> who are skilled in witchcraft,<sup>61</sup> to bewitch the *makk* for them, and dissolve his realm. He asked them for a likeness of the *makk*. So they asked for the *faqīh* Hijāzī b. Abī Yazīd, who was confined in the *makk*'s house in his village of al-‘Akkūra. They asked for him from [the *makk*] before coming out in revolt; [stating] in their request to him that they would kill him. The *makk* rejoiced at this, for he feared to kill him lest the curse of Shaykh Idrīs should fall upon him. So he sent him to them as a prisoner. When he met them, they honoured him, and asked him for the said likeness. So he made a likeness for them, and they clothed it in the *makk*'s clothes. The Fallātī set to work on it, and sent it to them. Then they set out for Sinnār; and when they came near to the town, they cast it down on the west bank.<sup>62</sup> The good news came to them that *Makk Bādī* had crossed to the east [bank]. The leading conspirator with them was the *Amīn* Hārūn; and when the *makk* crossed over, he went to the Funj, told them that the *makk* had crossed to the east [bank], and released them from [26] fighting. Everyone of them returned to his place, and Shaykh Muḥammad entered Sinnār without fighting.

Then Shaykh Muḥammad appointed *Makk Nāṣir*, the son of *Makk Bādī*, as king. That was in the year 1175 [1761–2], and from that time the power of loosing and binding was in the hand of the Hamaj. They gained domination over the Funj; and Shaykh Muḥammad killed their magnates, and appointed and dismissed among them. Dating was according to the periods of the shaykhs of the Hamaj, disregarding the kings.

The length of the reign of *Makk Nāṣir* was eight years. Then Shaykh Muḥammad Abū Likaylik deposed him, and he went out to the village of al-Buqra with a safeconduct. Then he seduced some of the Funj; and covenanted with them that they should attack

<sup>60</sup> Fallāta: the Fallāta were Fulani immigrants from West Africa, slowly making their way (sometimes over generations) on Pilgrimage to Mecca.

<sup>61</sup> Witchcraft, bewitch: *ṭibb*, *yaṭubb*. The usual meaning of *ṭibb* is medical treatment.

<sup>62</sup> The west bank: here *al-Hōy* (Sudanese term). MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, 281–2, translates *el Huoi/al-Hōy* as “the Gezira”, i.e. *Jazīrat Sinnār* (cf. n. 23 above).



Shaykh Muḥammad, and kill him and those with him. This came to the ears of Abū Likaylik, so he sent to him Bādī w. Rajab and Aḥmad w. Maḥmūd, the shaykh of the Qawwāriyya, with a numerous war-band. They came to him at the village of al-Buqra. Shaykh Aḥmad w. Maḥmūd went in to him. Between him and the *makk* there was excessive enmity and relationship by marriage. When he entered, the *makk* asked him, saying, "Who art thou?" He said, "I am the piece of 'alaj"—that is to say, the cotton cloth. So he reviled him, saying, "If I had known about the piece of 'alaj beforehand, I would have torn it to rags!" Then he said to him, "Cover yourself," And it is said that when they sought to kill him, they found the Qur'ān at his right hand and *al-Muwattā'*<sup>63</sup> at his left, for he was a lover of books, a man of religion and a calligrapher. So they entered on him, and killed him.

Then after him reigned *Makk* Ismā'il.<sup>64</sup> That was in the year 1182 [1768–9], and his reign was seven years. Then the realm was organized for the benefit of Shaykh Muḥammad Abū Likaylik, and he caused all oppression to cease. He acted with justice [27] among the subjects, and they prayed for *baraka* for him, and it has continued among his descendants until this our day. He took the realm from the hand of the Funj. In his time, in the year 1184 [1770–1], there occurred the "Attack", i.e. the dearth and drought. In the year 1185 [1771–2] the ensuing Nile was very high. In the year '86 [1172–3] *Makk* Sa'd<sup>65</sup> journeyed to al-Ubayyid. Then in the year 1187 [1773–4] there was a very high Nile called "the mosquito Nile".

Shaykh Muḥammad reigned until the year 1190 [1176–7], and passed away to the mercy of God Most High. His sons were Rajab, Nāṣir, Idrīs, 'Adlān, Ḥusayn, Qāsim, Naṣr, 'Abd al-'Azīz, Ibrāhīm and 'Alī; and he had daughters, whom we do not need to mention.

Then after him Shaykh Bādī w. Rajab became regent<sup>66</sup> in the year 1190. He was known for his courage, and famous among the Arabs and the barbarians<sup>67</sup> in his land. He was the son of [Abū

<sup>63</sup> *Al-Muwattā'*: the law-book of Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/796), the eponym of the Mālikī *madhhab*.

<sup>64</sup> James Bruce visited Sinnār during Ismā'il's reign in 1772; cf. Crawford, *Funj kingdom*, 247–54.

<sup>65</sup> *Makk* Sa'd was the ruler of the Ja'aliyyūn.

<sup>66</sup> Regent: here and elsewhere used to translate *shaykh*, when this term is applied to the Hamaj ruler.

<sup>67</sup> The barbarians: *al-'ajam*, i.e. those who did not speak Arabic.

Likaylik's] brother. When Shaykh Muḥammad died, and the son of his brother, the said Bādī, became regent, there died in his days Shaykh 'Adlān w. Ṣubāḥī, between whom and Shaykh Muḥammad there was sincere affection. So he desired death, and God answered his prayer, and he died.

Then the Funj conspired with *Makk* Ismā'īl that he should take from Bādī all the instruments of royal power. When Bādī heard, there was war with the *makk* for the space of two months. Then *Makk* Ismā'īl was deposed, and they sent him to Sawākin.<sup>68</sup> Then there reigned his son, *Makk* 'Adlān, who was involved in the celebrated conflicts with the Hamaj, which we shall mention in their place (God willing).

Then when Bādī had appointed 'Adlān as king, he himself maintained justice and equity among the subjects; [28] so that it was said of the abundance of his justice that one day he was sitting in his office, and saw a spider. Thinking about it, he said to his companions, "Whence does this thing get its food?" They said to him, "From the bounty of God." Then he swore that the *makk*'s slave should not get his food or furnishings from the peasant, and he put down all the oppressors and tyrants. In justice and equity he surpassed his uncle, Shaykh Muḥammad Abū Likaylik.

As for his courage, they tell that he fought in eighteen bloody fights, and was never seen to flee; and his battles were famous in the west. It is said that in one of his fights 'Āmir, the *makk* of the Balī,<sup>69</sup> sent to him, saying, "Thou art a warrior and I am a warrior, yet I have no sword like thine." When the ranks were arrayed, he chose a sword which was not his own, and sent him his sword, saying, "By the life of Rajab I have none better left." When they encountered one another, God helped him against him so that he killed him, and regained his sword. His constant desire was to be in the presence of the Companions (may God be pleased with them). No warrior in his time was to be compared to him, and likewise for justice.

When his rule was established, and he was residing in Sinnār, he sent to the Shukriyya<sup>70</sup> requiring their obedience, but they rebelled.

<sup>68</sup> Sawākin was at this time an Ottoman possession, but was largely under the control of the local Buja chief.

<sup>69</sup> Balī: a tribe of the Red Sea coastlands.

<sup>70</sup> Shukriyya: an important tribe having its territory in the Buṭāna, i.e. the area

He set out for Arbajī, crossed to the east [bank], halted at Barankū or Rufā'a al-Sharqiyya, and cut them off from the river. He sent Shaykh 'Ajīb, Shaykh Qandalāwī and 'Isāwī w. Muḥammad to the east. While he was there, he killed Abū 'Alī,<sup>71</sup> the shaykh of the Shukriyya, and his company with him. Then when the war-band arrived in the east, the Ḥalanqa<sup>72</sup> fought them, and Shaykh 'Ajīb and 'Isāwī were killed. Qandalāwī returned; and Shukr<sup>73</sup> resisted them, and Shaykh Qandalāwī was killed. That was in the year 1193 [1779–80]. He himself stayed there until the Arabs decided to obey because of the great drought that had befallen them.

[29] As for the cause of his death; when he was raised up to rule, he was over-zealous for justice, and beat Nāṣir w. Muḥammad [Abī Likaylik]. He used coercion, and made appointments. He deposed Shaykh al-Amīn w. Musmārr, whom he sent to al-Qarabīn, and appointed another. He deposed Shaykh Aḥmad [w. 'Alī], and he appointed as shaykh Ṣubāḥī w. 'Adlān and other notables. The sons of Muḥammad [Abū Likaylik] secretly hated him because he had beaten their brother. They took advantage of his sickness, and came to live with him in Sinnār. They plotted hostilities against him with King 'Adlān and the rest of the plotters, striving diligently and single-mindedly. Shaykh Aḥmad and Shaykh al-Amīn were in collusion with them. They assembled in Sinnār the divinely guarded, and took the horses they found there from the Arabs and others. They proceeded in search of Shaykh Shanbūl in al-Dākhila, and also Shaykh Ṣubāḥī, because Shaykh Bādī had sent them to levy taxes on the Arabs as they were both his friends and close companions. I have heard from Shaykh Bādī w. 'Adlān that when the sons of Muḥammad had taken the horses, they halted in the *fāshir* for the *makk* to come out; and the people gathered there by the mosque. He said to me, "I have heard that the Sharīf 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Marrākushī approached the Sharīf Muḥammad or the Sharīf Qāsim, and said to him, 'On Monday Shanbūl, on Tuesday Bādī.'" They went out to seek Shanbūl and those who were with him, and they mustered at al-Dākhila at a place called al-Suwaydniyya. Shanbūl encountered them with true

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west of the main Nile and between the Blue Nile and the River Atbara; cf. MacMichael, *Arabs*, I, 250–3.

<sup>71</sup> Abū 'Alī: 'Awaḍ al-Karīm Abū 'Alī, the father of 'Awaḍ al-Karīm Abū Sinn (p. 40 and n. 108), whose son Aḥmad was made a bey, and appointed *mudīr* of al-Khurṭūm and the Peninsula; cf. pp. 147, 173 below.

<sup>72</sup> Ḥalanqa: a Buja tribe.

<sup>73</sup> Shukr: the Shukriyya.

resolution, and swore that he would not strike any of them with a sword. So he took a staff, and awaited them with noble fortitude. His slaves fought with him, and he was killed on Monday. Shaykh Ṣubāḥī was captured, and they were reinforced with the horses and weapons that were with them.

As for Shaykh Bādī, on receiving confirmation of the report, he crossed from the east [bank] by Arbajī, and spent the night there. When his war-band was gathered around him, I have heard someone say, who attended his council at that hour, that he sent to his women, and they brought him a cup of *khumra*, i.e. a mixture of all kinds of scent. [30] At the time he was wearing a robe of *minnīrī*, a certain kind of cloth. He took the cup, and with it rubbed the robe between its hems, i.e. the stripes on its borders; and he anointed his beard, his arms and his head. Then he girt the robe about him, and went forth. He had a horse called al-Zubbāwī, for which he asked. It was brought, and he mounted. He began to foam at the mouth, and to shudder. Someone who saw him swore that every hair in his beard stood on end, and his body turned to gooseflesh—that is to say, his flesh crept, and he had swellings like boils.

He went forth, and did not stop until he came to Sinnār. He did not enter it, but some of its people met him, and said to him, "Enter Sinnār, and you will know who is with you, and who has left you." He swore that he would not trouble the Muslims three days. If he had the kingdom, "the people will see what I shall do; and if I die, verily I shall make the kingdom my pillow." So the matter fell out as it did, and that fight was the first fight of the Hamaj among themselves. He advanced against them on the Tuesday morning, and found that Shanbūl had been killed on the Monday. One who was present at that fight told me, "When the ranks were arrayed, he put his son Kitū in command of the war-band, and he himself held back to observe them. At the encounter Kitū and those with him were defeated. He himself encountered them, and did not heed them or halt his advance. There was with him only the *mānīk*, i.e. the groom. The narrator said, "I heard the people of the opposing war-band, all of them uttering insults, and saying, 'Bādī!' When they saw his steed, they yelled, 'The man has come!' When he drew near to them, he summoned them, 'So-and-so, the son of such-and such a woman!'", and he would say to him, '*Mānjil!*'"<sup>74</sup> There was not a warrior among

<sup>74</sup> The exchange between Bādī and his opponents (here apparently a challenge

them but he laid his sword upon him, and he was not taken until they mounted his steed behind him." So he was killed (may God Most High have mercy on him), and that was in the year 1194 [1780]. His sons were Kitū and Rajab Tībār (who was like his father for courage and resolution), Šubāḥī, Idrīs, Mūsā and Muḥammad.

[MS. Paris, f. 15v]

It is said that when the ranks were facing each other, and fighting broke out, his son Kītū was routed. He himself was not routed, and he faced the ranks. He asked everyone of the horsemen whom he passed, "Who are you?" He said, "So-and-so", and he passed him by until he came to Shaykh al-Amīn. He asked him, and he said, "Muḥammad al-Amīn." Thereupon he fell upon Shaykh al-Amīn, and struck him thrice with his sword. He was not affected because he had mail of proof. After that, Shaykh al-Amīn struck him a blow which weakened him, as he was more skilled in striking, and his sword was keen. After that blow, Shaykh Bādī fared ill. He passed on a little way, then he fell to the ground. He asked for the sons of Shaykh Muḥammad Abū Likaylik to be brought; Rajab, Nāṣir, Idrīs, 'Adlān and the rest of their brothers. Before they came to him, Shaykh Aḥmad w. 'Alī struck him a blow while he was on the ground. Because of that blow on the ground, hostilities arose between the sons of Aḥmad and the sons of Abū Likaylik. Shaykh Bādī died; may God Most High have mercy on him. That was in the year 1194 [1780].

Then Shaykh Rajab, the son of Shaykh Muḥammad [Abū Likaylik], who was named al-Haḍlāl, became regent in that [31<sup>st</sup>] year after the killing of Shaykh Bādī, and the king over them in those days was *Makk* 'Adlān. They all assembled within Sinnār, and everyone had something in his heart. Then Shaykh Rajab set out for Kordofāl, as was the custom of his fathers before him, and occupied himself with blockading the hills.<sup>75</sup> He was brave and just. It is told of him that if he wanted to fight a tribe, he would put his wife and his son in the midst of the enemy, and fight over them until he had defeated his enemy.

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to single combat) is reminiscent of the formal salutation to a *mānjil* by his followers; cf. Penn, "Traditional stories" (n. 18 above), at p. 68.

<sup>75</sup> Blockading the hills: presumably to obtain a levy of slaves from the Nūba; cf. the "tax" imposed upon the ruler of Taqālī by Bādī Abū Dīqin (p. 9 above).



Let us return to the career of *Makk* 'Adlān. When Rajab set out on his business, he appointed his brother Ibrāhīm as his deputy within the town. He took his seat in abundant ease and happiness until the king's arm became strong, and his helpers increased. ['Adlān] thought of what the Hamaj had done to his grandfather *Makk* Bādī, his uncle *Makk* Nāṣir, and his father *Makk* Ismā'il; and he disclosed to them what was in his heart. Shaykh al-Amīn w. Musmārr corresponded with him; so did Awlād Nimr, and he promised them the kingdom of the Ja'aliyyūn, for their father had been the deputy<sup>76</sup> over Dār Ja'al. As for Shaykh al-Amīn; Nāṣir w. Rajab<sup>77</sup> came to him by the west [bank], and crossed at al-Hilāliyya. They fought there. Nāṣir was routed, and returned. Bādī w. Musmārr was appointed shaykh at Walad Madanī. That was in the time of Shaykh Rajab in the year 1198 [1783-4].

In [that year] there occurred the war of the Shukriyya with the people of Arbajī. When the appointment of Bādī as shaykh took place, Shaykh al-Amīn conceived evil against them. They heard of this, and they knew of a certainty that they would be destroyed. So its people dispersed. It was a town full of beautiful buildings, pleasant for cultivation and trade, sophisticated in food and drink. In it were pious men and schools of learning and the Qur'ān. Those who were there tell of its marvels. The beginning of settlement there was thirty years before Sinnār, i.e. in the year 870 [1465-6], and the duration of settlement there was 328 years. Praise be to the Living One, Whose kingdom alone endures. [32] It is said that when God willed its ruin,<sup>78</sup> there was a dervish who repeatedly recited a verse, the speech of God Most High: "God made an example of a city that was safe and secure."<sup>79</sup> It was dispersed most speedily. Praise be to Him Who knows the invisible.

[MS. Nottingham, p. 33]

As for the cities of the land of the Funj, they were four. First were the city of Sinnār the divinely guarded and Arbajī; they were in the south. As for the north, there were Qarrī and al-Ḥalfāya, which was after Qarrī. Previously the king was in Qarrī, and the

<sup>76</sup> Deputy: *wakīl*; presumably the Ja'alī chief was regarded as the deputy of the Funj *makk* or, more immediately, of the 'Abdallābī *mānjil*.

<sup>77</sup> Emendation from MS. Nottingham.

<sup>78</sup> Emendation from MSS. Istanbul and Nottingham.

<sup>79</sup> Qur'ān: Sūrat al-Nahl (The Bee); 73:112.



deputies in al-Ḥalfāya. Then after that the king resided in al-Ḥalfāya, and the deputy in Qarrī. This is a blessed town, wherein are shaykhs of Islam [known for] *fiqh*, the fear of God, religion and piety. First is Shaykh Ḍayfallāh; secondly, the shaykhs teaching the Holy Qur'ān, the people of Shaykh 'Abd al-Wāfiq. As for the fourth town north of Qarrī, it is Shandī.<sup>80</sup> It is the town of the kings and of Ja'al, a great and famous town. In it they deal in the commodities of the Ḥijāz and the Yemen.

[Shubayka, p. 9; MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, 370, XC]

That was in the year 1198 [1783–4]. When Shaykh al-Amīn heard that it was the people of Arbajī who had worked for the appointment of his brother Bādī as shaykh, he turned to the Shukriyya, brought them with him, and with them fell upon the city of Arbajī. He annihilated their warriors, and the remainder was dispersed. He left it a wasteland, and it had been the best of the cities of the Peninsula, the mistress of trade and civilization, of splendid and elegant buildings, schools of learning and the Qur'ān. Its people lived in comfort with a varied cuisine. From that time it has lain in ruin until this our day.

As for Shaykh al-Amīn and Awlād Nimr; they made a compact with the *makk* that if there really was war, he was to seize Ibrāhīm and the Hamaj with him, and kill them. So he attacked them, seized Ibrāhīm w. Muḥammad [Abī Likaylik], Shaykh Aḥmad w. 'Alī, al-Zayn w. Hārūn al-Amīn and Taktuk w. Qandalāwī, and put them to death in the *fāshir*. He confined the daughters of Muḥammad [Abū Likaylik] as concubines for the Ja'aliyyūn and others who were with him, and the fighting became more severe. That was in the year 1199 [1784–5], which was the year when I was born. When Shaykh Rajab heard of that, he set off from Kordofāl seeking battle. He and the war-bands with him crossed over at al-Khurṭūm, and proceeded until they halted at the village of Shādhilī. *Makk*, Sa'd, the *makk* of the Ja'aliyyūn, accompanied him, and the pious saint al-Ḥājj Maḥmūd accompanied them.

<sup>80</sup> On Shandī and its commerce at the end of the Funj period, see Burckhardt's account of his visit in 1814; J.L. Burckhardt, *Travels in Nubia*, London, 1819, 277–361; more widely, T. Walz, *Trade between Egypt and Bilād as-Sūdān 1700–1820*, Cairo, 1978.

[Al-Ḥājj Maḥmūd] was a man of evident and manifest *karāmāt* and unconcealed *maqāmāt*. He may have belonged to the sect of the *Malāmatiyya*.<sup>81</sup> They are a kind of Sufis who commit abominations without incurring blame for it, and they deceive the people. As for his *karāmāt*, I have heard from someone who heard Shaykh Khōjalī [say]<sup>82</sup> that al-Ḥājj Maḥmūd was the spirit of Shaykh Ḥasan w. Ḥassūna (may God be pleased with him). Those without esoteric knowledge deny this, and call it the transmigration of spirits.

As for the *martaba* of the Sufis, to that I have no access. I have heard from a trustworthy person who drank from this river that a woman called Zahrā asked al-Ḥājj Maḥmūd [33] to show her Shaykh Ḥasan w. Ḥassūna. He said to her, "The shaykh is dead. Will the dead rise?" She said to him, "The shaykh, they said, brought the dēad to life. Now you show us something!" So he took a fish which had been dead for two days, and said, "Bring me water." So they brought it to him in a bowl, and he put the fish in it, and it began to move. Then he said to her, "There you are!"

One of his *karāmāt* was that when the *ḥāla* was on him, his elder brother restrained him, and put an iron fetter on him. He went about with it to the river one day, and saw a crocodile on the sand-bank. Then he took the fetter in his hand, and cast it into the water. It fell, and settled by the crocodile. His brother called out to him, saying, "Another time I shall not say anything to you." So he went into the river, took the fetter, and returned; and he did not thwart him afterwards.

Another of his *karāmāt* was told us by the *faqīh* Zarrūq w. al-Nūr. "We were reading on the sand-dune, and al-Ḥājj Maḥmūd came on his way to make the Pilgrimage. He stopped with the *faqīh*, our shaykh he said to them, 'If anyone will bring me a gourd of *marīsa*, I will pray for him in the house of the Apostle (peace be on him).'

A man arose from the gathering, and brought him a gourd. He drank, and promised him his prayers. Then he said to the *faqīh*, 'Give me a supper of stones.' So he sent out the fakis, and they brought him stones, among them a pebble of enormous size. He took them all, and began to swallow them. The *faqīh* took the great

<sup>81</sup> Buṣaylī inserts this sentence from MS. Vienna; it is corrupted in MS. Nottingham. *Malāmatiyya* were Sufis of an antinomian tendency; cf. *El2*, VI, 223-8, s.v.

<sup>82</sup> Shaykh Khōjalī: Khōjalī b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān; cf. MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, 250-2 (No. 154).

stone from him, and said; 'Leave [34] this.' He said to him, 'This completes my supper.' He urged him to leave it, but he refused. So he took it, and swallowed it, and it stuck in his gullet a little. Then it went down." He said, "We heard its descent with our ears," (that is to say, those present), "when it fell on what had gone before, and it said 'Ka'!" Then afterwards he got it out, and said to the *faqīh*, 'We have finished our supper, and honoured you thereby' or words to that effect. When he came back from the Pilgrimage, he said, 'Where is my companion, the *marīsa* man?' When he came to him, he said, 'I prayed for you in the house of the Apostle (blessings and peace be on him).'"

Another of his *karāmāt* was that he would collect snakes. He would eat one of them when he killed it. Another he would keep in pieces as long as he pleased. It would become dry, and he would bring another, use it as a condiment for it, and eat it.

It is said that when Shaykh Rajab was at al-Khurṭūm, [Maḥmūd] crossed over to meet his family. Amongst them was someone between whom and al-Ḥājj there was jealousy. When he saw him riding his steed, he made insinuations about his reason, saying, "Here comes the madman!" Then he gripped his steed and his spear until he reached the man. He sat down by him, and said, "O bird, if you go, greet the Trustworthy One; pray two prostrations. May he rot who says 'Madman!'" Thereupon the man asked his pardon, and he was pardoned.

It is said that his steed balked in a certain place, when he was in the war-band of Shaykh Rajab. He struck it with his staff, saying to it, "The stroke of the Hamaj, which has broken the first of them, and given victory to their successors." The *faqīh* Ḥijāzī b. Abī Zayd heard it, and said to them, "What did al-Ḥājj Maḥmūd say?" They repeated the saying to him. He said, "Yes; truly he is a perfect saint. Rajab will be killed; their war-band will be broken, and Nāṣir will be victorious." And so it came to pass.

It is said that from the day when he was killed and buried, the call to prayer was heard every night at his tomb (for he was a muezzin in his lifetime), until they moved him to his village at al-Dabba, where his tomb stands and is a place of pilgrimage. He had pious sons, among them the *faqīh* 'Alī, who is the paragon of this age and has eminent virtues. He is renowned among high and low for asceticism and religion, a master of recital and devotion, advanced in piety—may God cause us all to profit by him.

[35] It is said that when Shaykh Rajab moved from Shādhilī with a great retinue, one might have been reasonably confident that the victory was theirs. Al-Hājj Maḥmūd was with them, and he was saying, "O Sinnār, fire has come upon you!" Then when they went forth, and passed the night at a place called Walad Zayt, he said, "The flood has put out the fire! This is my day and yours, O Rajab!" Then *Makk* 'Adlān and his war-band went out, and they fought together at a place called al-Taras. Shaykh Rajab and al-Hājj Maḥmūd were killed. That was at the beginning of the thirteenth century [1201/1786-7]. [Rajab's] sons were Muḥammad, Dōkah, Bādī, Ḥasan, Ibrāhīm, 'Alī and Kitū.

[MS. Paris, f. 16r-v]

In that year [1199/1784-5]. Shaykh al-Amīn w. Musmārr laid waste formerly prosperous villages between al-Ḥalfāyā and Qubbat al-Shaykh Khōjalī called Shanbāt, and their inhabitants scattered in all directions.

After King 'Adlān had killed Ibrāhīm w. Muḥammad [Abī Likaylik] and others as he did, the famous poet and singer al-Nu'aysān was at that time living in Sinnār. The king wanted to kill him, and hinted at threats to his life. Al-Nu'aysān understood that his life was threatened, so al-Nu'aysān fled to Kordofāl. He met Shaykh Rajab, and before he greeted him, he told him in rhymed prose how the king had dealt with his brother. Likewise he told everyone of the sons of Shaykh Muḥammad, calling on each one by name, telling him in rhymed prose what King 'Adlān had done, and condoling with him on his dead brother.

When Shaykh Rajab was assured that the king had killed his brother, and committed other atrocities, he was angered, and set out at once with the troops with him. Among those who were with him was King Sa'd, the son of King Idrīs w. al-Fahl, and al-Hājj Maḥmūd al-Majdhūb, the pious saint, the worker of *karāmāt*. Shaykh Rajab pressed on with his march until he stopped at the village of Shādhilī. Al-Hājj Maḥmūd was with him. On the way al-Hājj Maḥmūd said, "O Sinnār, fire has come upon you!" Shortly he said, "The flood has quenched the fire!" As the night turned to morning, and the fight began, he said to the shaykh, "In the morning it will be thus and thus with you and me"—intimating his killing and the killing of Shaykh Rajab. As the night turned to morning, the encounter began, and they fought in a place called al-Taras. Shaykh Rajab was killed, and al-Hājj Maḥmūd was killed.

Then Shaykh Nāṣir w. Muḥammad became regent at the beginning of the thirteenth century after the killing of Rajab. The Hamaj were defeated. They stopped at 'Abbūd and began to disagree. Some of them sought Walad Ja'al, i.e. *Makk* Sa'd, and he said, "We shall withhold from them the steed and the sword." Others sought the west. Shaykh Nāṣir refused [the regency] until the messenger of the *faqīh* Ḥijāzī came to them, and ordered them to return. He gave them the good news that "The victory is yours, and I am coming to you; wherefore rejoice!" Then Nāṣir arose, and stopped at al-Tūmāt, and the shaykh remained there for two years. Then he travelled thence, and stopped at the village of Ṭayyiba Qandalāwī on the river. They remained there as long as God willed they should remain.

At the time the *makk* was being treated for sickness. So he prepared an army, and put in command the *Amīn* Raḥma w. Kitfāw and Shaykh al-Amīn w. Musmārr; and Muḥammad Abū Rayda was at the head of the *qawāwīd* of the *makk*<sup>83</sup> [36] and his household. With them were the *maqdūms* of the Funj, his company. They met at a place known as Inṭarahnā, and they fought together in a hard battle. The *makk*'s company was defeated. Among the Hamaj, 'Alī w. Muḥammad [Abī Likaylik], the full brother of Ibrāhīm, was killed; he was a renowned horseman. There was much slaughter in the *makk*'s war-band, so that some of them were drowned in the river; and they pursued them until they entered Sinnār. The *makk* regretted that he had not been present. He remained a few days, and passed away to the mercy of God. He was a just man towards his subjects, pitiless and masterful to those who opposed him. It is said that he died by poison, and it is said by a magical potion.

As for Nāṣir and his company, they stopped at al-Lubayn, and remained there for some days. The *makk*'s war-band fought before the *hōsh* of the *makk* in the town and the market-place. The blockade and distress were hard on the people, and the world and what it holds were straitened for them. Then Shaykh Nāṣir shifted to the southern side of the town, and set fire to the town. They went out to them, and there was some skirmishing that night. Then they separated. When morning came, they met for battle and did not fight; but they were routed without a battle. Shaykh Nāṣir and his army entered the town, and wrought much ruin in the town. He pursued

<sup>83</sup> MS. Nottingham adds: 'Adlān.



Idrīs and Shaykh al-Fadwī, who had been routed, to al-Sālī; and they returned.

The length of [ʿAdlān's] reign was until the year 1203 [1788-9]. From here the power of the Funj ended, and no list of them was kept. Their kingship became a customary institution, and the regnal dating passed in reality in the name of the Hamaj, and their trace was obliterated. [The Hamaj] proceeded to slay among them, to depose, and to appoint. It was as al-Mutawakkil<sup>84</sup> said, who was the first caliph to be deprived of rule:

[3 lines of verse follow.]

[37] Then Shaykh Nāṣir appointed *Makk* Awkal as king. He tarried a little, and passed on his way. Then he appointed *Makk* Ṭabl as king; and he set out for the northern districts to fight Shaykh al-Amīn and Abū Rayda, and Ṭabl was killed at al-Ḥalfāyā. Then he appointed *Makk* Bādī as king, and he also was killed at al-Ḥalfāyā. With him was killed *Makk* Rubāt, who was the king of Abū Rayda and Shaykh al-Amīn.

Then he appointed *Makk* Ḥasab Rabbihi as king, and he died at Walad Bān al-Naqā. Likewise with Abū Rayda.<sup>85</sup> Then Shaykh Nāṣir returned to Sinnār in the year 1204 [1789-90].

In the year 1205 [1790-1] Shaykh al-Amīn w. Musmārr was killed in the village of Walad Bān al-Naqā; Abū Rayda killed him.

[MS. Paris, f. 17v]

In the year 1205 Shaykh Muḥammad al-Amīn w. Musmārr was killed. Muḥammad Abū Rayda killed him because he had severely beaten Shaykh ʿAbdallāh w. ʿAjīb as an exemplary punishment. Shaykh al-Amīn was staying in the village of Walad Bān al-Naqā. His sons were not there, and he took him unawares. Because of his great courage and strength, they could not break in on him; but they went up to the top of the house, tore away the roof, and proceeded to stone him to death.

ʿAbdallāh<sup>86</sup> and his brothers came to Shaykh Nāṣir at al-Jadīd, and he appointed ʿAbdallāh as shaykh. He set out for al-Ḥalfāyā. Abū Rayda and ʿAbdallāh w. ʿAjīb fought them, and Shaykh Nāṣir was routed. He stopped for three days at al-Ṣabābī, and returned again

<sup>84</sup> Al-Mutawakkil: ʿAbbasid caliph (regn. 232-47/847-61); cf. H. Kennedy, *EI*2, VII, 777-8, s.v.

<sup>85</sup> MS. Nottingham adds: in Dār Jaʿal.

<sup>86</sup> MS. Nottingham adds: his son [sc. of Shaykh al-Amīn w. Musmārr].



to the fight. When the ranks were arrayed at midday, I heard from someone who was present that day, who said, "His brother Muḥammad w. al-Shaykh ordered his disciple to give the call to prayer, and to say to him 'God is greater!'" The waḥ-band was defeated without a fight, and Nāṣir returned to the west [bank] and to Sinnār, Abū Rayda by the east [bank] to al-Ṭarafāya. Each of them remained in his district, and there was severe hardship for the Muslims for several years.

The reason for this was that Shaykh 'Abdallāh chanced to be with Shaykh Ḥasan, and [al-Amīn] came, and took him from the *khalwa*. Then Shaykh Ḥasan swore that al-Amīn should not ride a steed, because when [38] he took Shaykh 'Abdallāh, he put him in a slave-collar. So when what was decreed befell, he did not ride. They got up to him at the top of his house, and killed him by stoning.

[MS. Nottingham, pp. 40-1]

Then after it in the year 6 after 1200<sup>87</sup> [1206/1791-2] came dearth and the famine called *al-raḍīnā*, and they called it *al-baraka* [remainder of line untelligible] and the destruction of the livestock, and thus it was called *al-raḥma*.<sup>88</sup>

Then in the year 8 [1208/1793-4] al-Ḥājj Bilāl was killed. The sons of Shaykh Shanbūl killed him. They went out, burnt his village, and crossed to the east [bank]. They joined Shaykh 'Abdallāh w. 'Ajīb. Killers<sup>89</sup> came with him, and horsemen were killed by him. When they came to join Shaykh Bādī w. Musmārr, they saw the sons of al-Amīn. The sons of Bilāl came, and they lavished wealth on Shaykh Nāṣir. So he sent Bādī, and they seized Shaykh Madanī and his brothers. 'Adlān fled from him, and joined Abū Rayda, his paternal uncle. When Nāṣir killed Shaykh Madanī, he took what advantage he could from the sons of Bilāl, and abandoned them. He sent for 'Adlān, the son of Shaykh Shanbūl, So he came, and he honoured him; and his position and affair were achieved in full as the sole man.

Then [Nāṣir] appointed *Makk* Nawwār as king, who remained for a while, and became powerful; so Shaykh Nāṣir killed him. Then

<sup>87</sup> Emendation of a corrupt text.

<sup>88</sup> *Al raḍīnā*, *al-baraka* and *al-raḥma* are ironical names for the famine, meaning respectively "which pleased us", "the blessing" and "the mercy"; cf. n. 45.

<sup>89</sup> Text corrupt.

he appointed as king *Makk Bādī* w. Ṭabl, who is now living. [Nāṣir] appointed and deposed. The reason why we have discontinued [noting] their years is that they are subsumed in the government of the Hamaj, and the length of their reigns is not clear.

When Shaykh Nāṣir appointed *Makk Bādī* as king, he was very young. When they brought him out for festivals, Shaykh Farajallāh rode behind him as an escort until he grew up. Nāṣir resided at Sinnār, where in his time was the splendour of the great kingdom and the vast assembly. He was given to entertainment and play. He would go out to hunt towards al-‘Azzāza, and they would go out with him with wines and meats. When he entered the town [i.e. Sinnār], it was a feast-day. He would also go out to the *sāqiyas* for diversion, and would bestow favours on their owners. He was a regular visitor to the tombs of his family during the festivals, visiting them at al-Nāqa and Raḥl al-Tamr. He abounded in gifts, and was inwardly an ascetic. He was proverbial for munificence and generosity. It is said that he never withheld gold save once. On of his companions came to him, and said to him, "I am going on Pilgrimage." Then he opened his bag, and he was alone. He wished to give him an abundant gift, so he stretched out his hand, and he who was making the request took it. The shaykh's wish was that he should give him the skirt of his robe, but he offered him his two hands. He was displeased, and did not add to what he had taken out. They relate that a thousand *waqīyyas*<sup>90</sup> came to him, and he did not hoard any of it.

Between him and al-Ḥājj Sulaymān there was sincere friendship in some battles. Sulaymān was courageous, not sparing himself in fights. In one of the fights in the north Shaykh Nāṣir was defeated, and all the women with him were taken. When he realized this, and went out alone, al-Ḥājj Sulaymān came to him, and said, "Tell me which of your women you want." He said to him [39] "Go back, Sulaymān!"<sup>91</sup> But he insisted, so he said to him, "Bring me Arbadī." So Sulaymān went back, and said, "Arbadī! Arbadī!" She said to him, "My lord!" She was on a camel, so he spurred his steed until he came up to her. He took her from among the horsemen, put her in front of himself, and sat behind. When the horsemen came to him, he drove them from her, and held on to her until he brought her to Shaykh Nāṣir. He became the dearest of all creatures to him.

<sup>90</sup> MS. Nottingham adds: of gold.

<sup>91</sup> MS. Nottingham adds: all my women are the best.

When they slept, Nāṣir was on a bed and Ṣulaymān likewise. They said to him, "You are the *makk's wazīr*; why should you do this?" He said, "To guard him is my duty." The reason for my mentioning this incident is for the honour of Shaykh Nāṣir. Sometimes he would come to him after there had been some occurrence of selfishness between them. If he came to him in Sinnār, he would prepare all sorts of things such as beggar description and are not found elsewhere for him, even sending him honey in a large water-skin (not a small one) and also unlimited wealth.

[MS. Paris, f. 18r]

In his days Muḥammad w. Khamīs nicknamed Abū Rayda was dwelling at al-Ṭarafāya, east of Sinnār. He was renowned for courage and strength, and he was reckless beyond all measure. An example of his recklessness and courage was his fighting with Nāṣir, and his heedlessness in dwelling so near to Sinnār. He used to enter by night, alone and in disguise, and keep company with his friends and companions there, and leave. So he continued for a time.

It is said that there were four contemporaries: they were Shaykh Nāṣir in Sinnār, Sultan 'Abd al-Raḥīm in Dār Fūr, Murād Bey in Egypt, and Aḥmad al-Jazzār in Syria;<sup>92</sup> and Nāṣir was the most outstanding of them because of the narrowness of his realm, for it was restricted to part of the Peninsula.

In the year 1211 in the month of Shawwāl [March–April 1797], on a Wednesday, he crossed over to Abū Rayda, and his brother 'Adlān was with him. They killed him, devastated the villages of the east [bank], and looted their chattels.

<sup>92</sup> 'Abd al-Raḥīm should be 'Abd al-Raḥmān, sultan of Dār Fūr 1202–15/1787–1800. The traveller W.G. Browne, who was in Dār Fūr between 1794 and 1796, and had several audiences of the sultan, describes him thus: "He is a man rather under the middle size, of a complexion adust or dry, with eyes full of fire, and features abounding in expression. His beard is short but full, and his countenance, though perfectly black, materially differing from the negro; though fifty or fifty-five years of age, he possesses much alertness and activity." *Travels in Africa, Egypt, and Syria*, London, 1799, 212.

Murād Bey was one of the Mamluk grandees who dominated Ottoman Egypt between 1784 and the coming of Bonaparte in 1798. Defeated by him at the Battle of the Pyramids, he fled to Upper Egypt, where he died in 1801.

Aḥmad Pasha al-Jazzār similarly dominated Ottoman Syria after 1783. In 1799 he blocked Bonaparte's advance into Syria by holding out at Acre in co-operation with a British naval force. He died in 1804.

He [Nāṣir] was an oppressor, and did not hold back his hand from the wealth of any of the Muslims. Some houses he enriched, and others he impoverished.

An account of those who died in his time. First, he seized the *faqīh* Ḥijāzī b. Abī Zayd, and caused him to die of thirst. He killed the *faqīh* Najdī by strangling. He killed a number of the Ḥaḍramīs. Hence the saying, "A Ḥijāzī thirst, a Najdī strangling, and a Ḥaḍramī massacre."

[MS. Paris, f. 18r]

Among those who died in his time was the *faqīh* Ḥijāzī. He imprisoned him, and he died of thirst in prison. He killed the *faqīh* Najdī; and he killed a number of the Ḥaḍramīs by the hand of his brother Ḥusayn, on his orders. Then he turned on his brother Ḥusayn, and took all his wealth and livestock.

In his time Sultan Hāshim,<sup>93</sup> the sons of al-Amīn and Banū Jarrār<sup>94</sup> made an invasion. They invaded the Peninsula; so he went in search of them with his war-bands, and caught up with them in the vicinity of Sīrū. [40] Then they made peace with one another, and all returned. Hāshim and the sons of al-Amīn came in with them to Sinnār, and Banū Jarrār went off after receiving robes of honour. Sinnār was divinely guarded and protected; no outsider could be victorious over her.

In his time there died the pious saint, the scholar, the *faqīh* 'Abd al-Rahmān w. Abū [sic] Zayd, many of whose *karāmāt* appeared at his death. His piety was famous, and great and small believed in him. Among his *karāmāt* was that when he was washed after his death, not a drop of the water was drunk by the earth, nor did the people leave any of it, but they took it to obtain *baraka* thereby. From his tomb came out 'awā'id, such as were not known elsewhere. Shaykh Nāṣir supervised his burial and its preparation, and placed him in his tomb, which is yet standing and a place of pilgrimage.

There died also the scholar, the practiser of good works, the servant of the *fuqarā'*, the man obedient to God's command, untouched by the blame of princes, the *faqīh* Muḥammad Ṣubr—may God cause us to profit by both of them.

<sup>93</sup> Hāshim was sultan of the Musabba'āt, thus a kinsman of Khamīs w. Janqal; cf. O'Fahey and Spaulding (n. 44 above).

<sup>94</sup> Banū Jarrār: alias Fazāra; at this period an important nomadic tribe in northern Kordofān; cf. MacMichael, *Arabs*, I, 264.

He, that is Nāṣir, had sons: Muḥammad Abū Rīsh, 'Alī, and Muḥammad al-Qunjārī, who was adopted by him.

As for the reason for his death: when he had spent some time as ruler, he handed over the command to his *wazīr*, the *Arbāb* Dafa'allāh w. Aḥmad, and they spread out their hands in oppression and tyranny with his *wazīr* and his slaves. He relied on their support against his brothers. He abounded in generosity towards some of the people and they enjoyed favour, while he abounded in oppression towards others and they suffered adversity. Minds fled from him, and souls were alienated from him. They sought help from the King, the Holy One. Dafa'allāh increased in authority. He ordered all the *maqdūms* and others [41] to gather at his place, so that he could bring them to Shaykh Nāṣir's headquarters. Among the lot were [Nāṣir's] two brothers, Idrīs and 'Adlān. Idrīs even joined Dafa'allāh without a riding-camel, but on foot, and, it is said, wearing a loincloth. So they conceived enmity against him. They plotted to make war, and to seduce the war-band from him. They made their preparations, and declared war after they had assembled at 'Abbūd, 'Adlān from the east [bank], and Idrīs from al-Manāqil. All the interested parties mustered to them. All that was at the end of the year 1211 [June 1797].

As for Nāṣir; when he realized the situation, he went out to al-Sabīl at the end of the summer, and stayed there. He sent to them the *marātīb* and the daughters of Muḥammad [Abū Likaylik], for he was an intelligent man, skilled in affairs. But no caution avails against destiny. Among the *marātīb* sent as envoys was the *faqīh* Walad 'Abd al-Ḥayy, who was full of advice and instructive anecdotes, and spoke in rhymed prose. One day he said to [Nāṣir], when he saw his brothers' aversion to peace, and they were duping the *fuqarā'* by words without action—he said to him, "This is a quarrel and an intrigue; it is either Dafa'allāh or the *ṭāqīyya*,<sup>95</sup> or the clash of swords until nightfall." So he despaired of them.

The rain fell, and it was a fertile year, celebrated among the people of Sinnār. When the rain ceased, he dispersed the armies that were with him; so he sent Hāshim to Dār al-Abwāb,<sup>96</sup> and Dafa'allāh to his people. He himself went down to Sinnār. His brothers set out from the village of 'Abbūd after him. When he entered Sinnār, they

<sup>95</sup> The *ṭāqīyya*: i.e. the regent (from his symbol of office).

<sup>96</sup> Dār al-Abwāb: the riverain region around Kabūshiyya.



halted at al-Buqra. When night came, he lit fires in the *fāshir*, took what he needed, and went out towards the south. When they entered Sinnār, Idrīs took up residence there, and ‘Adlān went after [Nāṣir]. When he stopped at Sīrū, he found that [Nāṣir] had crossed to the east [bank], and was proceeding towards Dabarkī on the Dindir. Then [Nāṣir] stayed there for a little, and went northwards seeking ‘Abdallāh w. ‘Ajīb. So he came al-Ḥalfāya, and stayed there. Then he set out for the south, and stopped at ‘Abbūd.

[42] As for his brothers; they set out from Sinnār, and stopped at Abū Ḥarāz. Then when [Nāṣir] came, ‘Adlān crossed over to him with his war-band. None of the Funj or the Hamaj went out with him for fear of treachery. When the ranks were arrayed, his *wazīr* cast the helmet off his head, and entered ‘Adlān’s war-band. Shaykh Nāṣir was routed, and the war-band caught up with him. He was captured, and brought back to Abū Ḥarāz; and they handed him over to Ṣubāḥī w. Bādī. Walad Bādī killed him in revenge for his father, and he was buried with Shaykh Dafa‘allāh al-‘Arakī—may God have mercy upon us all.

Then in the year 1213 [1798–99] Idrīs became regent. He was a courageous man, just, forbearing and clement to his subjects. A robber was the most hateful of creatures to him. With regard to his justice, it is reported that in his time all market goods would be left overnight where they were, except for fear of dogs. He was respected, honoured and temperate; and his brother ‘Adlān was his complement, for ‘Adlān was aggressive towards the tribes, masterful and courageous. If any tribe resisted him, he slaughtered it, and the tribes of the east were brought into submission to them. They profited thereby, and gave the villages ease from oppression and ill-treatment. The regent’s *wazīrs* were the *Arbāb* Qurashī,<sup>97</sup> the *Arbāb* Zayn al-‘Ābidīn<sup>98</sup> and the *faqīh* al-Amīn w. al-‘Ashā. He did not hand the jurisdiction over to them, but undertook it himself, as the poet says:—

[2 lines of verse follow.]

When Shaykh Idrīs was established in power after the killing of his brother and the return to Sinnār, the deputy behind him was Muḥammad b.<sup>99</sup> al-Shaykh Rajab, and his justice [43] knew no bounds. Then he crossed over after Shaykh Kamtūr, between whom

<sup>97</sup> MS. Nottingham adds: w. Faḍlallāh al-Anṣārī.

<sup>98</sup> MS. Nottingham adds: b. al-Sayyid Dōlīb.

<sup>99</sup> Muḥammad b.: inserted from MS. Nottingham.

and himself there had been enmity from the time of Shaykh Nāṣir. When he himself became regent, he got in touch with him, and joined him towards Umm Shajarāt or nearby. With Shaykh Kamtūr was *Makk Rānfī*, and in Sinnār was *Makk-Bādī*. So they made peace, and agreed that Rānfī should be made king, and Bādī deposed. When they entered Sinnār, they deposed Bādī (who is now living), appointed *Makk Rānfī* as king, and dominated over him. *Makk Bādī* went away to Rās al-Fīl.

Then the sons of Muhammad [Abu Likaylik], having attained their aims in the south, turned their attention to the northern territory, and gave thought to their initial stratagems.

In the year 1215 [1800-1] they set out to fight against Shaykh ‘Abdallāh w. ‘Ajīb.<sup>100</sup> He was courageous and just; in his time he cut off the highwaymen, and gave peace to the Muslims; he caused the women to be married, and prayer to be offered up. They set out to fight him for two reasons: the first, a remark reported of him to their brother Shaykh Nāṣir, when he set out for him; the second, in order to conquer Dār al-Abwāb, since between them and Awlād Nimr there was open hostility and estrangement. So they came to him, and he was killed in al-Ḥalfāya (may God have mercy upon him).

In that year 1215 Nāṣir w. al-Amīn became shaykh [of the ‘Abdallāb]. In it my father made the Pilgrimage.

[MS. Paris, f. 19v]

In the last part of the year 1214 [early 1799] they proceeded to al-Ḥalfāya to fight Shaykh ‘Abdallāh w. ‘Ajīb because of a remark reported to them concerning their brother Shaykh Nāṣir. So on 1 Muḥarram, the beginning of the year 1215 [25 May 1800] they encountered him. They fought, and Shaykh ‘Abdallāh was killed on that day. He (God’s mercy be upon him) was just to his subjects, a lover of the Faith, a hearer of the Holy Qur’ān. In his days he ordered women to be married with a reduced *mahr*; many marriages took place, from which many children resulted. Likewise he ordered all the market traders, even the butchers, on hearing the call to prayer, to go to the mosque to attend the Friday Prayer. They continued to do this, and it became customary for them even after his death. Likewise he destroyed the lawless gangs called ‘*akālīt*, who got together to rob and plunder people’s goods. He collected them, gang by gang, and beheaded them. He ruled for

<sup>100</sup> MS. Nottingham adds: in Ḥalfāya.

three years, and in his time no-one at all would dare to despoil anyone by theft or highway robbery of what was his:

After they had killed him, they appointed in his place Shaykh Nāṣir w. al-Amīn, who survived until the time of his late Highness. After appointing Shaykh Nāṣir, they killed his brother Ūnsa, who was the chief of the *ʿakālīt*.

As for the sons of Muḥammad [Abū Likaylik]; when they had killed ʿAbdallāh w. ʿAjīb, Shaykh Idrīs remained in al-Ḥalfāya, and ʿAdlān set out for Walad Bān al-Naqā. Then he sent to the kings of Jaʿal, and made a covenant with *Makk* Muḥammad w. Nimr on his status and his realm. So he came to him with his brothers, but his son Nimr, his brother Saʿd and others did not feel safe, and did not appear before ʿAdlān. As for *Makk* Saʿd, he died before appearing with them in this year. It is related that the daughters of [44] Shaykh Muḥammad [Abū Likaylik] said, when their brothers had gone to the north, and they were shown the letter, "One hobbled the steed, and one shut up the women. To whom will you give the territory?"<sup>101</sup> Then Shaykh Idrīs wept, and weeping was his only answer to them.

Then when God gave Awlād Nimr into their hands, ʿAdlān seized *Makk* Muḥammad and Idrīs his son, his brother Idrīs, al-Faḥl and others of the royal family.<sup>102</sup> As for *Makk* Muḥammad, he killed him in cold blood; and as for his son Idrīs, his mother paid 300 *waḡiyyas*<sup>103</sup> for him. ʿAdlān's intention had in fact been to get her into his hands because of what they had done to the women of the Hamaj, but God did not permit it. As for al-Faḥl, he released him for the sake of al-Ḥājj Sulaymān. Thereupon he said, when he was released from prison (he was a singer, and ʿAdlān sought his friendship)—he said, "Where is the like of ʿAdlān the true-hearted? He rides on a young leopard beside the young lion [?]. The shutting-up of the women fills him with shame. He took the man whom the people dread, remembering time past. The evening came, and he did not see the morning."<sup>104</sup>

<sup>101</sup> This refers to the events of 1199, when *Makk* ʿAdlān II in collusion with the ʿAbdallāb and Awlād Nimr carried out a coup against the Hamaj ("hobbled the steed"), and shut up the daughters of Muḥammad Abu Likaylik as concubines for the Jaʿaliyyūn; cf. p. 48 above.

<sup>102</sup> The ruling family: *awlād al-frāsh*.

<sup>103</sup> MS. Nottingham adds: of gold.

<sup>104</sup> Another reference to the events of 1199 (see n. 116). Buṣaylī had difficulties

As for 'Adlān; he took the rest of the captives, and went to al-Hāwiya, where he was surrounded by Nimr and the rest of Awlād Nimr. They spent the night together, and there was no fighting between them. When the night was quiet, Nimr and those with him arose, while 'Adlān remained in his place until day. Then the Majādhīb *fuqarā'*<sup>105</sup> and the Sa'dāb returned; and he appointed *Makk* al-Musā'id as king, and returned. Al-Musā'id resided at Shandī, and ['Adlān] went to his brother. They set off for Sinnār, which they entered with rejoicing and pleasure.

In the year 1216 [1801-2] my father died after fulfilling his Pilgrimage and returning—may God have mercy upon him. In it the captive Awlād Nimr were killed. In it was the battle of al-'Awālīb, and the departure of [45] al-Musā'id from Shandī, and Nimr ruled there. In it my paternal uncle,<sup>106</sup> the *faqīh* al-Ṭirayfī, died in the month of Ṣafar [June-July 1801]. In it 'Adlān crossed to the west [bank], and overcame one of the kings of Fūr called 'Isāwī. He made him his prisoner, and returned with him to Sinnār, where he died.

As for those who died in [Idrīs's] time: in the year 1217 [1802-3] there took place the fight of the Shukriyya and the Baṭāḥīn,<sup>107</sup> in which Shaykh Abū Sinn<sup>108</sup> and others were killed. There died the pious saint, the master of counsel, who was famous throughout the land of the Sūdān, al-Ḥājj Nāṣir w. Mānsī. He had many *karāmāt*, among them one of which I was told by his son. He said that when al-Ḥājj went to Dār Ghubaysh, they rejoiced at his coming, and exalted him and the evidence of his *baraka*. One year he came to them, and they collected mules and donkeys for his transport. Among them was a mule sent by Shaykh al-Nūr. They loaded it; and when he arrived, the mule fell dead. They were astonished. Al-Faḍl, his sister's son, came to his maternal uncle al-Ḥājj Nāṣir, and told him about it. The matter distressed him, and he said, "The mule isn't

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with the text of this utterance, and appears not to have used the soundest version, given in MS. Istanbul. "The young lion", if correctly translated, presumably refers to the Regent Idrīs. "The man whom the people dread", who "did not see the morning" is *Makk* Muḥammad, whom 'Adlān slew.

<sup>105</sup> The Majādhīb were a famous and influential holy family of al-Dāmar, cf. Trimmingham, *Islam in the Sudan*, and for an almost contemporary account, see Burckhardt, *Travels in Nubia*, 265-71.

<sup>106</sup> Paternal uncle: *amm*; perhaps here (and on p. 47) a term of respect.

<sup>107</sup> Baṭāḥīn: a tribe of the northern Buṣāna, adjacent to the Shukriyya (n. 73 above); see MacMichael, *Arabs*, I, 206-9.

<sup>108</sup> Abū Sinn: 'Awaḍ al-Karīm Abū Sinn, son of Abū 'Alī; see p. 22 and n. 71 above.

dead. Go back to it." So they went back, and found it alive. When its owner arrived, it lived for thirty days, and then died.

Another [*karāma*] is that there was a woman living in the village of his brother 'Awaḍallāh. One of the company of *maqdūms* was there to take a due. He came to her, and she had a *maṭmūra* which he wanted to empty. So she told Shaykh Nāṣir, and he said, "I'm not going to him." She went back to him again, and he drove her away. The third time, the shaykh stood up, and stood over the *maṭmūra*. He stamped his foot, and said, "Let not what is in the *maṭmūra* leave it!" When [the *maqdūm*] trod on the *maṭmūra*, he felt a stab in his foot, which made him withdraw. So they put him on an 'angarēb and he died before he got home.

Another [*karāma*] is that when his son Muḥammad set out in a journey to the south, as he said, "When I came to al-Kaylī by night, the shaykh came to me [46] putting ink<sup>109</sup> in his inkwell, and said to me, 'Muḥammad!' I got up angrily, and said to him, 'What's the matter? I came just now: can't you wait till morning?' He said, 'Don't be angry. These are my people. Al-Ḥājj Nāṣir came to me, and said, 'I've come with my son Muḥammad. Show him your family—I've come to protect them.' These are my people. I've counted them, and put ink in my inkwell, and come to you.'" His virtues were many—God profit us by him.

There died in [Idrīs's] time the pious saint, the reciter of the Qur'ān, who followed its commands and shunned its prohibitions, the guide of students, staunch in the Faith, who time after time delighted in sickness, the *faqīh* al-Miṣrī w. Qindīl. His *karāmāt* were famous and his *baraka* evident—God profit us by him.

And there passed away in his time the divine *quṭb*, the proficient scholar, famous for excellence, who was well known to all the Muslims, Shaykh Yūsuf b. al-Ṭirayfī—God profit us by him. The *faqīh* Aḥmad b. al-Ḥājj al-Ṭayyib wrote an elegy on him.

[21 lines of verse follow.]

[47] His many virtues were without number—God profit us by him.

The said Shaykh Idrīs [b. Muḥammad Abī Likaylik] took the place of his father for justice and benevolence. He used to say, "I am the third after the two", i.e. Shaykh Bādī and Shaykh Rajab. His children were Muḥammad and 'Alī (who was adopted by him), and 'Ajība, by whom he became renowned.

<sup>109</sup> Putting ink in: reading *muḥabbir* for *mufarrib*.



The cause of his death was that he went up to Jabal Saqadī to levy the taxes of Rufā'a in the year 1218, and when he had been there some days, his fate overtook him on 16 Jumādā II [1218/3 October 1803]. When his brother 'Adlān had certain knowledge of his death, he concealed it until he had made his preparations, and assembled his horses and riding animals. Then his death was [48] disclosed. The people were in consternation and perplexity. Some people say that he was poisoned, and some committed him to the Living and Eternal One.

Then Shaykh 'Adlān became regent in 1218 after the burial of his brother (God's mercy be on him). The people gathered to him, and congratulated him on the joy and pleasure and plenitude of power which he brought. He held office for the rest of Jumādā, Rajab and Sha'bān; and in the night of 16 Ramaḍān<sup>110</sup> [30 December 1803] he passed away to the mercy of God. The reason for his death was that when the *lāqiyya* came to him, he was occupied with amusements and women, and sometimes with illnesses associated with the west bank, such as guinea-worm and fever-chills; and he was occupied with weddings.

He sent the *Arbāb* Dafa'allāh Sulaymān, one of his advisers and *wazīrs*, to Abū Ḥarāz, to reside there, and to deprive the Shukriyya of their corn until they obeyed him. [Dafa'allāh] wrote to him at times to leave Sinnār, but he did not reply—by God, quite otherwise! He told him, "If you do not leave Sinnār in Ramaḍān, you are a slain man!" He refused to leave, and while he was occupying himself with amusements, men were occupying themselves with his destruction. This was because Muḥammad, the son of Shaykh Rajab, and all of them put their heads together. He was a master of intrigue, and made a league with Awlād Aḥmad, and with *Makk Rānfi* and the Funj. Some of the confidants of Shaykh 'Adlān were with him. When God wished to disclose this, Muḥammad w. Nāṣir, known as Abū Rīsh, moved from his village of al-Kubur, and he was troubled because of the distress which had befallen him.

In the days of 'Adlān's regency his brother 'Alī passed away. He was courageous. 'Adlān dreaded him, and he was not backward to show his enmity. When he died, it was said that he was poisoned; and it was said that he was bewitched.

<sup>110</sup> Buṣaylī has incorrectly: 6 Sha'bān.

[49] When Muḥammad [w. Nāṣir] came from al-Kubur, and stayed with one of his friends, he was riding a donkey and bringing a cow to sell for the expenses of Ramaḍān. The regent was living in such comfort and luxury, and from the new moon of Ramaḍān not one of the *maqdūms* and *wazīrs* of the descendants of the Hamaj had broken his fast at home except Shaykh Kamtūr. [ʿAdlān] prepared an infinite amount of food and drink. I was told by the one in charge of his disbursements in those days that every day until he was killed [they were] seven and a quarter *waḡiyyas* [of gold]. God's mercy be on him. He was generous and open-handed.

When Walad Nāṣir entered the town [i.e. Sinnār], and they informed him of the affair, it was fated that ʿAdlān should be with Bint Jumʿa that night. Walad Nāṣir came, and informed his conspirators. He was pertinacious in affairs, swift in movement. He attacked the *ḥōsh* of al-Rūshān, killed some of the guards, took the horses and weapons that were there, and came to them. So they built up their strength. ʿAdlān heard of this, and set out from the *ḥōsh* of Bint Jumʿa. He came to the *ḥōsh* of his mother's people. His companions rallied around him, but had no advice to give, and some of his slaves were there. The deceivers deceived him, and said to him, "This is a trifling matter. Kamtūr will go out to al-ʿAyra." So they plied him with smooth talk. Those who had friendly feelings in their hearts dispersed, and deception overtook him; and he allowed himself to be soothed by their talk.

When they who practised deceit had gained the ascendancy over him, lo! the war-band approached, and halted at the gate of the *ḥōsh*. He went out against them, and a slight chill was on him. Before he got out, someone called ʿArakī came up to him, and struck him with a *marīsa* pot. He finished him off, and went forth stricken by sickness. Shaykh Kamtūr came up to him, and offered him two swords, but he paid no heed. He struck him with a club, and insulted him. His war-band dispersed, and of his *wazīrs* Ḥamad w. Nāyil and the *imām* Walad Aḥmad were killed. His horse bolted with him, and there was nobody to hold it. When he reached the top of the sand-hill opposite the mosque of Bilāl, he fell dead from his horse, and the horse stood over him.<sup>111</sup>

[50] As for them, they were at a loss as to whether he had got out, which would be their certain destruction; and they were baffled.

<sup>111</sup> MS. Nottingham (reading *waḡaʿa* for *waḡafā*): the horse fell upon him.

Then before dawn news came that he was slain. They came and identified him, and carried him to the *hāsh* of his mother's people in a manner unbefitting the likes of him. That was on the night of Saturday, 16 Ramaḍān. At the time his son Muḥammad was young. He took horse, got away wounded, and joined Farajallāh and the rest of the defeated faction. They went to 'Abbūd, and the slaves of Nāṣir and everyone under pressure withdrew.

Then Shaykh Muḥammad w. Rajab became regent in the year 1218 [1803]; and the splendour of the realm dawned upon Muḥammad w. Nāṣir, and with him was Dafa'allāh, his father's *wazīr*, and Qurashī. The realm was among the three of them. This was unprofitable and inconclusive, for each of them dug a pit for his colleague. As for Shaykh Muḥammad [w.] Rajab, he dug for them all, his aim being to destroy Walad Nāṣir by the Kamātūr,<sup>112</sup> and the Kamātūr by Walad Nāṣir, in order to have the command. Awlād Aḥmad were in league with *Makk* Rānī, and the Funj were against the lot, and God forbade that their design should be brought to completion. As for Walad Nāṣir, he formed a faction against them all by means of his slaves and his father's reputation, and went his own way, yet with united support. He got in touch with the household of 'Adlān, and they made a covenant together. They came to him from 'Abbūd with the exception of Dafa'allāh w. Muḥammad Sulaymān, who was keeping watch on them. He remained inactive until the revolt broke out, and intervened with power and strength.

When the month of Ramaḍān in that year was over [14 January 1804], rumours spread among them, and everyone disclosed what was in his heart. Disorder broke out; its sparks flew up, and its fire was ablaze. One Thursday in Shawwāl [January–February 1804] they formed up, and fought from the beginning of the day until its end. When the time came for the passing of souls, their herald cried aloud and shouted. Walad Nāṣir pressed on to the *fāshir* with his horses and men, and found Walad Rajab engaged in fighting, while Kamtūr was stationed with his brothers [51] within his *hāsh*. They were mounted and eager for war, but he did not comply with them, being steadfast.

The *makk* and those with him were waiting for them all to meet with disaster. Muḥammād w. Nāṣir set out with his horses led by Fāma, who was courageous but nevertheless drunken and confused,

<sup>112</sup> Kamātūr: the kinsmen of Kamtūr, i.e. Awlād Aḥmad.

not understanding the bitterness of death. He came to them, and pressed hard upon them as he charged in battle. The *faqīh* al-Kāmil, Shaykh Kamtūr's *wazīr*, came on him, and they exchanged blows. The slave was strong, and he was mounted on the back of a refractory horse. Al-Kāmil struck the slave, and cut off the crest of his helmet. [Fāma] struck him so that he fell from his steed, and he pressed on in search of Shaykh Kamtūr before he emerged. He came on him in the gateway; the time had come for the severing of relations. Shaykh Kamtūr struck Fāma. He fell back from him, and the crown was severed so that he took his brain on his sword. He fell like a great mountain, and those who had come with him were routed because the place was narrow, and he had come on them when they were few. They were routed, and Awlād Aḥmad pursued them. Al-Ḥājj Farah w. Rayyah was killed on al-Awnqa, the steed of Shaykh Idrīs. Its harness was entirely of gold. Yāsīn killed him, took the steed, and stripped it.

Walad Rajab and Walad Nāṣir stopped in the *fāshir* for an hour, being assured of defeat. Walad Rajab entered the *ḥōsh* of the *makk*, and Walad Nāṣir went to his own *ḥōsh*, took everything he liked, and left the town. As for Shaykh Kamtūr, he told his brothers, "This is not a victory, but it has left you a way out. So let us get out of the town." They refused his advice, being sure of victory and triumph. In the morning they came to the *ḥōsh* of the *makk*, and captured Walad Rajab. Awlād Aḥmad, the Funj and their king remained. They were certain of the realm, and made a mutual covenant about it.

[52] As for Walad Nāṣir, he went to al-Kubur, his father's village, and stayed there. He got in touch with the war-bands to the north and the remainder of the household of 'Adlān, and they mustered to him from every side. He went forth while wounded. The Kamātūr stayed in Sinnār, and Walad Rajab was with them. The two factions brought destruction on the Muslims, and looted the corn. They only were safe who were under the protection of the *marātib*, or derived power from one of the notables.

In those days there was manifested the sanctity of the pious devotee, the lover of the Apostle of God (on whom be the blessing of God and peace), the learned practitioner of good works, the *faqīh* Muḥammad w. Abī Subayja. The cause of his manifestation, as they tell, was that Fazāra left Awlād Aḥmad, and came to him. When they drew near to him, one of their mares fell, and died immediately. They turned back at once, and feared him until the day he

died. He accomplished *karāmāt*, and had *ḥālāt*—may God profit us by him.

There was manifested also the sanctity of the pious saint, the teacher of the Qur'ān, the instructor of the sons of the Muslims, the eloquent dervish, Ya'qūb al-Duwayhī. Walad Nāṣir and all the members of his war-band believed in him. His *baraka* was so manifest that Walad Nāṣir wore his shirt on the day of battle. He was feared and obeyed; his good fortune was abundant, and his utterance was effective.

When Walad Nāṣir was healed of his wound and had regained strength, he set out from al-Kubur, and went to Ṭayyiba, the village of Qandalāwī, on the river. He stayed there until the end of 1218 [11 April 1804], and exchanged communications about peace with Awlād Aḥmad. The mediators between them were Ḥusayn w. Muḥammad [Abī Likaylik], all the *marātib*, and al-Ḥājj Sulaymān. He demanded of them everything that had been taken on the day of the battle, and the release of Muḥammad w. Rajab. They agreed, and set free Walad Rajab; and he went to al-Rūshān. They returned [53] to them innumerable horses and harness, but it availed nothing.

In the year 1219 [1804–5] Walad Nāṣir advanced in Muḥarram [April–May 1804], and they went out to al-Lubayn. Fate summoned them to their perdition. The *fuqarā'* were with them in that hour to effect a reconciliation. Walad Nāṣir agreed, and Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm, the sons of Rajab, refused, although the chief of Awlād Rajab at that time was Bādī and his mother Bint Aḥmad. So peace was rejected, and they went forth to battle. They met at Umm Ṣubayna, a well-known place, and Awlād Aḥmad encountered them, being of high courage and abounding in honour. The others were of superior strength. Twelve of Awlād Aḥmad and their paternal cousin were killed, and there were also 'prisoners and wounded. The Funj were cut down, only a few of their magnates escaping; and the *makk* went into his stronghold. Shaykh Kamtūr and the rest of the defeated crossed to the east [bank]. It was a great and famous battle, approaching the battle of Inṭarahnā between the Regent Nāṣir and the war-band of *Makk* 'Adlān—and this was achieved by his son. Praise be to Him Who directs affairs.

There died in that year the divine scholar, the unique succour, who was celebrated for *tawḥīd* in his time, more eminent than his predecessors and contemporaries, the *faqīh* 'Alī Baqādī—God's mercy be on him. He was most erudite in this art, and camels' livers were



offered to him [?] from all sides. His son, the scholar Ibrāhīm, wrote an elegy on him.

[35 verses follow.]

[55] God profit us by them all, and may His mercy be on them. Amen.

In this year there died our paternal uncle, the *faqīh* Aḥmad, son of the *faqīh* Munawwar; and our brother in God, al-Ḥājj Ḥasan—God's mercy be on them. They died in one day.

As for Muḥammad w. Nāṣir; when he entered the town, he killed the *faqīh* al-Amīn b. al-ʿAshā, the *wazīr* of his paternal uncle, Shaykh Idrīs. He killed Walad Abī Najā, and confirmed the regency<sup>113</sup> of his paternal cousin, Shaykh Muḥammad w. Rajab. From that time the regent's authority<sup>114</sup> of the Hamaj became like the royal authority of the Funj, but the power to loose and bind passed to their *wazīr*. [Muḥammad w. Nāṣir] took the women of ʿAdlān in marriage, and gained possession of all his good things. The *wazīr*, the *Arbāb* Qurashī, and the slaves of Nāṣir took possession. [Walad Nāṣir] made his residence at Kasalā,<sup>115</sup> and stayed there for a little while. Then he came to Sinnār, and killed *Makk* Rānfī, and the town was without a *makk* for some months. [56] Then he sent for *Makk* Bādī, whom Shaykh Idrīs and ʿAdlān had deposed, brought him in, and made him king; and he remained until the coming of the Ottoman regime.

As for Shaykh Kamtūr; he crossed with his brothers and those with him, and they reached their homeland in the south. In his place Shaykh Bādī, the son of Shaykh ʿAdlān [w.] Ṣubāhī, was appointed shaykh by Walad Nāṣir without the consent of Walad Rajab, Walad Rajab being in Sinnār and Walad Nāṣir in Kasalā. They remained thus for the rest of the year, and taxed the Arabs unconscionably.

In the year 1220 [1805–6] Shaykh Kamtūr advanced in the south. Shaykh Muḥammad w. Rajab and Shaykh Muḥammad w. Nāṣir caught up with him. He crossed to the west bank at Umm Durmān. They exchanged messages about a reconciliation, and there was no fighting between them.

<sup>113</sup> Regency: *shiyākha*.

<sup>114</sup> Regent's authority: *ṣāqīyya*; cf. n. 110.

<sup>115</sup> Shubayka, *Taʾrīkh*, Notes, 16/1 (p. 10), suggests that this Kasalā was not the place now known by that name but a lost village near Sinnār.

[MS. Nottingham, p. 61]

The *marātib* with the *marātib* of the north intervened between them between them to make peace. They were the son of the *faqīh* Muḥammad b. al-Shaykh Barakāt, the *khalīfa* of Shaykh Idrīs; the pious scholar, the *faqīh* Muḥammad b. al-Shaykh Dayf[allāh]; the *faqīh* Abu'l-Ma'ālī, the *khalīfa* of Shaykh Aḥmad; Shaykh Ibn Maryam; the *faqīh* Muḥammad, the son of the *khalīfa* of Shaykh Khōjalī; the *faqīh* Idrīs; the *faqīh* Muḥammad, the *khalīfa* of al-Rāfi'; the *faqīh* Muḥammad al-Ramzī, the *khalīfa* of Shaykh Dōlīb; and the *faqīh* Muḥammad w. 'Ammār al-Mashyakhī. All these *marātib* intervened to make peace, and there was no fighting between them.

[Kamtūr] returned by the east [bank] and they by the west. Walad Rajab halted at al-Jadīd 'Umrān, and Walad Nāṣir at al-Ḥurrayz. At that point they separated. Walad Nāṣir set out, and Walad Rajab followed him, and stopped at Walad Madanī. Walad Nāṣir made his way to Kasalā, and hostility broke out between them.

In [this year] Shaykh Jammā', the son of Shaykh al-Amīn, was captured by his brother, and died in captivity.

When the year 1221 [1806-7] came in, Walad Rajab went forth to battle. He stopped at Walad Bahā' al-Dīn, then set out for Kasalā. They fought together at a place known as al-Ḥarrāba in the vicinity of Kasalā. The *faqīh* Zayn al-'Ābidīn, the son of the *faqīh* al-Sayyid, was killed, and Walad Rajab was routed. Walad Nāṣir pursued them, and they were besieged in a place known as al-'Azāzā. Each feared [57] the deception of his fellow, and there was no fighting between them. Walad Rajab went to al-'Aylafūn, and Walad Nāṣir went to his place. He appointed his paternal uncle Ḥusayn as regent. He and his slaves remained in amusements and play, together with the Hamaj who were with him, his *wazīr* the *Arbāb* Qurashī, and Shaykh 'Adlān [w.] Shanbūl, while all the war-band dispersed from him.

As for Walad Rajab, he entered into communication with Awlād Aḥmad and Awlād Walad Sulaymān, who were then at Shandī. Shaykh Kamtūr came from the south, and stopped at Abū Ḥarāz. Al-Ḥājj Sulaymān and his brothers, and Awlād Shanbūl (except 'Adlān) came in, and they concluded a peace agreement. Then Walad Rajab came from al-'Aylafūn. They gathered at Abū Ḥarāz, made a covenant of war to fight Walad Nāṣir, and published the matter.

They made a king for themselves called 'Ajabān; then he was deposed without accomplishing anything.

As for them, they remained in this condition. There took place a famous confrontation between Walad Rajab and the Shukriyya. He took much wealth from them. The *marātib* of the settlement and al-Ḥājj Sulaymān recovered it from him. They all agreed upon fighting. Then they remained for the rest of the summer at Walad Madanī. When the rains fell and ceased in their season, they set out for 'Abbūd to make a reconnaissance. That was in the year 1222 [1807-8]. As for Walad Nāṣir, he remained with his slaves, the slaves of 'Adlān and the rest of the Hamaj, paying heed to no man.

In Rajab of that year [September-October 1807] there passed away in one day the two sons of Shaykh Nāṣir, Muḥammad Abū Rīsh and his brother Muḥammad al-Qunjārī. The war-band was reduced to bewilderment and confusion, but there were in it horsemen tried in warfare, Muḥammad w. Ibrāhīm, Irdāb w. Bādī and the household of Nāṣir. They made a covenant and mutual agreement to fight. The reason for the death of the sons of Nāṣir was, it is said, that one of the Fallāta called Abū Bakr gave them a magical potion; and the slaves of Nāṣir killed him on the same day. [58] A reliable person told me that it was a curse of the pious saint, the *faqīh* Badawī w. Abī Ṣafiyya because Muḥammad had offended him in connection with an intercession, and he had not gained his end. So the said Shaykh Muḥammad died, leaving a young son and a daughter.

As for the household of his son 'Adlān w. Muḥammad; when Walad Nāṣir died, they aspired to rule to the exclusion of the other Hamaj. So they rose against them. None of those there agreed with them, but they persisted with their idea. The slaves encountered them with hearts of iron. They fought, and the slaves of 'Adlān were defeated, while the son of Muḥammad was wounded and taken prisoner. The defeated made terms with Shaykh Muḥammad w. Rajab, altogether like a blind man led by a lunatic. The slaves of Walad Nāṣir remained at Kasalā, and acted like Abū Rayda and even more so.

As for Walad Rajab and those with him, they were assured of victory and triumph. They set out from 'Abbūd, and stopped at Ṭayyiba, the village of Qandalāwī. The war-bands and everyone with an inclination to destruction gathered around them. When they

stopped at Tayyiba, their hearts grew bold and their intentions keen. They covenanted with the Hamaj who were with them, concerning the rule<sup>116</sup> after victory and triumph. The war-bands continued as they were for the rest of Rajab and Sha'bān [1222/September–October 1807]; then when it was time for the going-forth of souls, their herald summoned them. They were of divided opinions. Among them were *marātib* seeking to effect a reconciliation, not knowing how things would turn out.

On Thursday, 24 Sha'bān [27 October] the war-band of Kasalā set out in search of Walad Rajab and those with him. The *fuqarā'* sent word to them, "The war-band is coming upon you!" So the ranks were drawn up, and every hero of note found renown. They fought together, and Shaykh Muḥammad and Shaykh Kamtūr were defeated. The fame of the victory went to the slaves; neither the *makk* nor the Hamaj had any fame.

There was slain al-Ḥājj Sulaymān w. Aḥmad, the famous warrior, known for his knightly qualities [59] in every land—God's mercy be on him who endured what none other could in those times. He fought great fights in every land, and was greatly revered, being lavish of wealth and himself. Among his exploits was that one year he travelled to Dār Ghubaysh. The *makk* took his horses and treated him unjustly, and he returned. This injustice was through one of the townspeople. When he grew in importance, he took his horses and, finding the *makk* present, he entered to him, clad in mail. When he obtained a seat, the *makk* was in great majesty among his retinue with his son. So he deceived him, and took a knife from his son. Then he became visible to him [the *makk*] because of his mail, and when he saw him, he lost his reason. [Al-Ḥājj Sulaymān] said, "Restore my chattels to me or I will kill you!" He had no choice, so he gave him his son as a hostage. So he took him out to where he was staying, until they brought him the chattels. Then he clothed his son, and released him. As for the man who caused the injustice, he had fallen into poverty, and came to him with some people to plead for him. He said to him, "If you were as you were formerly and I the Sulaymān of today, I would have taken my due from you; but today you are a pauper." So he forgave him, and treated him kindly.

<sup>116</sup> Rule: *frāsh*.

My father al-Ḥājj Abū 'Alī told me about the reverence he inspired. They were sitting in one of the quarters of Jedda, and with them was an old man, a native of the town. Al-Ḥājj Sulaymān passed by them, and the man asked my father, "Who's that?" He said, "I said to him, 'An 'Abbasid.'<sup>117</sup> He said, 'Yes, by God! An 'Abbasid!', and he repeated it thrice with much approval, and who was I to restrain him?"

His brother al-Amīn was killed with him on that day after the defeat of the war-bands. He had left al-Mahāṣṣ safely, and someone came and told him of the killing of his brother. He returned alone, and plunged into the flight, not stopping until he stood over his brother. Then he fought, and the horsemen fell on him, one after another. So they were both slain—God's mercy be on them both.

As for Shaykh Muḥammad w. Rajab, he halted at 'Abbūd, where he remained for the rest of Sha'bān and part of Ramaḍān [October–November 1807]. They were joined by Shaykh Shammām w. al-Amīn. The slaves followed them up, and attacked [60] them. They fought together at a place called al-Ṭulayḥ. They fought there, and Ilyās w. Muḥammad w. Sulaymān, the paternal cousin of al-Ḥājj Sulaymān, was slain. Like his two brothers he was a courageous horseman. He cared nothing for any of the sultans. An instance of his quick wit was that he went to al-Ḥalfāya in the time of Shaykh 'Abdallāh w. 'Ajīb. It is said that the shaykh was left-handed, and when anyone came to greet him, he extended to him his right or left hand according to its turn. When Ilyās came to him, he extended his left hand to him. Ilyās had extended his right hand; so he clenched it, and extended his left hand, with which he took the shaykh's hand, and greeted him. Walad 'Ajīb asked about him, and those present informed him who he was. All those at the assembly thought them both great men.

'Abd al-Raḥmān w. Badr of Awlād Shanbūl was killed, and those war-bands were routed. Walad Rajab went to al-'Aylafūn. Shaykh Kamtūr, the sons of Sulaymān Dafa'allāh and those with them set out for Abū Ḥarāz. Shaykh Kamtūr crossed [the Nile] that afternoon, and Dafa'allāh w. Sulaymān remained on the west of the river until morning, and all the war-bands crossed over. Then he went aboard, and their boat made the crossing. Lo! their horses were on

<sup>117</sup> A reference to the claim of the Ja'aliyyūn to be of 'Abbasid descent.



the river, and God kept them safe. The slaves stopped at Walad al-Majdhūb opposite Abū Ḥarāz. They alone ruled, and they appointed al-Tayfara to the post of *wazīr*. Everyone of them became a leader, not a follower. The name of the Hamaj was obliterated as they had previously obliterated the name of the Funj. Praise be to the Great Ruler of the kingdom, Who gives to the deserving and the undeserving. "None shall ask of Him concerning His acts, and it is they who shall be asked."<sup>118</sup>

Then the slaves and Walad Ibrāhīm dispersed from Walad al-Majdhūb, ostensibly in pursuit but secretly to raid and loot, and a number of them intended treachery. He took leave of them, and went to Baqqāra.<sup>119</sup> Then he killed a party of them, and sent the chattels to the slaves in Kasalā. He made a covenant with [61] Fazāra,<sup>120</sup> and set out with them towards al-Khurṭūm. Fazāra raided and fought them. Then he was victorious, and they were routed. The *faqīh* Ibrāhīm, the son of the *faqīh* Muḥammad w. 'Alī, the *khalīfa* of the *faqīh* Arbāb al-Khashin, was killed, and they took loot. Then he set out towards the south, and stopped at 'Abbūd.

As for the slaves, they stayed at Kasalā in drunkenness, wantonness and injustice worse than the injustice of their master, Shaykh Nāṣir. They raped the women of the pious, except those whom God, the Lord of the Worlds protected. The land was troubled, the people cried out, and entreated God Most High because of the abundant wickedness. He answered them Who answers the prayer of the hard-pressed, Who has mercy on the suppliant, and discovers his tribulation. He enabled Muḥammad w. Ibrāhīm to assist them. At that time he was only half-grown, but he was truly resolute. They stayed at 'Abbūd, and he sent a deceitful message to the war-bands, and they sent him an answer. Some of them went out to meet him, such as the *Arbāb* Qurashī, Bān al-Naqā and others. With others of them an undertaking was made not to fight; that when there was an armed encounter, they would come over to them.

As for the slaves; when hostilities became certain, and Qurashī and those with him had left, they followed him for a little. They did not catch up with them; so they returned to Sinnār, captured the sons of Rajab (Bādī and his brothers), and returned to Kasalā

<sup>118</sup> Qur'ān: Sūrat al-Anbiyā' (The Prophets); 21:23.

<sup>119</sup> Baqqāra: cattle-nomads of Kordofān and Dār Fūr.

<sup>120</sup> Fazāra: see n. 94. The name is now obsolete.

in drunken confusion. But they were resolved upon battle, being desperate and cornered. They made a covenant with Walad 'Adlān, released him from his fetters, and said to him, "We will give you the position<sup>121</sup> of your father." So he made a covenant with them, deluding them, and secretly beguiling their chief Tayfara, who had authority with the Hamaj.

As for Walad Ibrāhīm; he set out against them at the end of the summer, and journeyed from 'Abbūd until he stopped at al-Dōma. God cast terror into their hearts, and they fell into disagreement. When morning broke, he came to them, and they turned out to fight.

As for Walad 'Adlān; he assembled his paternal cousins and likewise Tayfara according to his agreement and decision. As for Awdūn, Zāyid and his sons, and the rest of the slaves, they sought a fight. Dōkah w. 'Ajabūn was killed, and the rest were left in jeopardy. [62] They took refuge with the *faqīh* Hāmid, so they took them prisoner. That luxurious life was stripped from them, and God gave them eternal humiliation and adversity. Walad Ibrāhīm laid Kasalā waste, and released the captive sons of Rajab. He went down to Sinnār, taking the slaves with him. Then he killed them, and God took away their kingdom. They rekindled the fire of the Hamaj after it had been extinguished, and he renewed the covenants which had been obliterated in their time. He confirmed [in power] his paternal uncle Shaykh Ḥusayn, and his king *Makk Bādī*. Life became clear for the Muslims after it had been turbid. The Hamaj held the ascendancy in his days, and the kingdom was set in order by his power.<sup>122</sup> He lived in Ṭayyiba, the village of Qandalāwī; then he moved to Umm Diraysa, because since the day when 'Adlān was killed, Sinnār had meant diabolical affliction to them.

As for Shaykh Muḥammad w. Rajab; he advanced from al-'Aylafūn to Abū Ḥarāz, and killed beasts from the district of the Fādniyya.<sup>123</sup> The 'Arakiyyūn<sup>124</sup> came to him, and told him that these were their chattels, so he handed them over. Then they spoke rudely to him, and there was a good deal of palaver between them. Mediation was

<sup>121</sup> Position: *ism* (literally "name").

<sup>122</sup> Power: *ism*.

<sup>123</sup> Fādniyya: a semi-nomadic tribe of the Buṭāna; see MacMichael, *Arabs*, I, 250.

<sup>124</sup> 'Arakiyyūn: a tribe of the Blue Nile region with its centre at Abū Ḥarāz; see MacMichael, *Arabs*, I, 242.

attempted, but caution cannot prevail against destiny. They spoke more and more against him, yet he displayed humility and contrition towards them. They would not go away, but came to him in arms. So he rode away, and sought the *qubba* of Shaykh Dafa'allāh, and complained to him of what had befallen him at the hands of his sons. Then he returned to them. His forces were small, and with him was Kitū his brother, and they were patient under insult. Troubles and trials increased. There were killed of the notables of the 'Arakiyyūn, Shaykh Abū 'Āqila, the son of Shaykh Yūsuf, and Shaykh Dafa'allāh w. al-Ṣāmūta; and Abū 'Āqila, the son of Shaykh Muḥammad, was wounded. A great number of the inhabitants of Abū Ḥarāz were killed, and many of them were wounded. They suffered a great defeat such as they had never experienced in old times, for they were renowned horsemen of proven courage. That was the *baraka* of their ancestors, a secret known only to God Most High. If God had willed the killing of Shaykh Muḥammad at their hands, it would have come to pass. Between them and the Hamaj was indescribable enmity. God delivered them from his blood, and this was a blessing disguised as a misfortune. So he went forth from them, seeking Awlād Aḥmad in al-Ṭarafāya.

[63] As for his brothers and Walad Ibrahim; when news came that the 'Arakiyyūn had killed the shaykh, they prepared to fight and combat them, until they learned of his victory over them. They rejoiced and were happy, and gave up their preparations. At the time they were at Jabal Saqadī, levying the taxes of the Rufā'a Arabs.<sup>125</sup> He, his *wazīr* and those with him took possession. As for his paternal cousins and all the warriors from that place, they dispersed discontentedly; as the Most High has said, "Thou reckonest them all, and their hearts are diverse." Everyone of them harboured evil, and they came down thence.

As for Shaykh Muḥammad; when he had rid himself of the 'Arakiyyūn, he set out for Shaykh Kamtūr in al-Ṭarafāya. When he reached him, they exchanged messages with Walad Ibrāhīm, and agreed to seize [Muḥammad w. Rajab]. He sent some of his brothers to him, took him prisoner, and sent him to his paternal cousins at Ṭayyiba. Then they took him to Sinnār, and handed him over to Muḥammad w. 'Adlān, because of the killing of his father. So they killed him—God's mercy be on him.

<sup>125</sup> Rufā'a: at that time a nomadic tribe in the Sinnār region; see MacMichael, *Arabs*, I, 239-41.

As for Muḥammad w. Ibrāhīm; when he saw the fickleness and dissension of his warriors, he mustered them, and set off with them to the Dindir, to distract them, or give them loot from the tribes. His purpose and desire were not good. He fell on the *fugarā'* Awlād Walad Ubayyid, killed them, and devastated the Dindir. They looted it, and returned.

As for Muḥammad w. 'Adlān; he established a military base for himself, assisted by the *Arbāb* Dafa'allāh, the *faqīh* Madanī w. al-'Abbās, the *wazīr* of Shaykh Muḥammad [w.] Rajab. They returned to Sinnār, dispersed to their villages, and set about what they had in mind; but they were scattered, everyone to his place. As for Dafa'allāh and Walad al-'Abbās, they kept to the headquarters. As for Walad 'Adlān and the Tumām, they were in their villages. When God wished to manifest His predestined command and irrevocable judgment, the masters of the secret appeared. Shaykh Muḥammad [w. Ibrāhīm] and his *wazīr*, the *Arbāb* Qurashī, recognized it, and they assembled at the village of Walad Ibrāhīm. [64] As for Dafa'allāh w. Aḥmad; he got to hear of it, went to Sābi' Dolēb, and crossed to the east [bank].

As for Walad al-'Abbās; when they took him, he displayed a noble fortitude, and spoke to them as one facing death. He dismounted, and set a limit for al-Qurashī, saying to him, "You will outlive me only some days." It is said that when they brought him to execution, he said to his executioner, "Has your mother another son?" He said, "No." He said, "Leave me." Another executioner was appointed, and it is said that his hand fell off forthwith.

As for Walad Ibrāhīm and Qurashī; they set out directly, and stopped at the village of Walad Bahā' al-Dīn. They sent someone to bring Walad 'Adlān at once from his village of Burqū. When the messenger came to him, he went out to them under duress and coercion. He took those of his slaves who were with him, and mounted his steed; but his confidence was in the masters of deceit with him—the slaves of Shaykh Nāṣir, the Tumām. When he reached them in the *khalwa* at Walad Bahā' al-Dīn, they threatened him, and took him prisoner. Rajab w. 'Alī was in a hurry to kill him, but Walad Ibrāhīm prevented him. When the Tumām slaves heard that, they incited the slaves of 'Adlān, the Turāb. They turned upon the company of Walad Ibrāhīm. The first of them to be killed was Ḥassān, who was a renowned horseman. They were put to flight. They demanded of those in the *khalwa* that Muḥammad w. 'Adlān should come out. They refused at first, so they called for fire to burn them

all. Thereupon they sent him out to them. Then they demanded their swords. They gave them up, and those who had been captors now became captives. From that hour the kingdom passed to Muḥammad w. 'Adlān. That was in Jumādā II 1223 [July–August 1808]. They took them prisoners, and went with them to Burqū. As for Qurashī, they did not give him time when they arrived. They spoke to him only of the sword's edge, and he was killed. Things changed, and their bard changed with them. He spoke satirically to his comrades in his colloquial speech:

[*Translator's note.* Four lines of colloquial verse follow, and a literal translation has proved impossible. An informant comments that in the first couplet the poet gloats over the defeated leader, and in the second couplet praises the victor's achievement.]

That is what befell those people.

When all the war-bands, the followers of Walad 'Adlān, who had been on the east [bank] in flight with Shaykh Kamtūr, heard, they came to him hastily and fearfully, rejoicing that he had become the ruler. They were the *Arbāb* Dafa'allāh w. Sulayman and Farajallāh, one of 'Adlān's first followers. Dafa'allāh w. Aḥmad turned his coat, and was removed to Sinnār as a prisoner with Walad Ibrāhīm, but was not put in irons because he was sick and in pain. He remained in Sinnār, confined in the *ḥōsh* of his paternal aunt Mahīra, but he was keeping an eye on their circumstances, and waiting for their destruction.

Let us return to the account of Muḥammad w. 'Adlān, and we shall relate (if God the Generous will) the obituaries and acts of the pious men of his time, the events and occurrences which befell him. We shall as we can and without order, and also the reason for his death. And God knows best.

When Muḥammad w. 'Adlān assumed power on 23 Jumādā II of the said year [1223/16 August 1808], there was a slight epidemic of a sickness called *al-kīk*. In the year 1224 [1809–10] there was a serious epidemic, which became severe everywhere. We shall give an account of the saints and pious men who died of it. Of the merchants, cultivators and others in the settled lands, the number could not be reckoned. Some houses were closed, and some villages laid waste in it. In [this year] God gave us our son Muḥammad in the month of al-Qa'da [December 1809–January 1810]. In that year there occurred a great rainfall, and prosperity filled the land.

In it there died the pious saint al-Ḥājī Muḥammad w. Nūrayn,



in the village of Abū Khurs, a worker of many *karāmāt*. He was Muḥammad b. Idrīs. Nūrayn, the name by which he was known, was his maternal grandfather. He was tall in stature, black in complexion, with a withered right hand where a thief had struck him. He got away. Then after a while he returned through his *baraka*, [66] under his *‘angarēb*. He (God’s mercy be on him) was on good terms with rulers and peasants alike, a terror to the unjust, blameless in God’s sight. If there was fear of the authorities, the people would have recourse to him, and no-one would be able to interfere with any of them.

As an instance of his *baraka*, he had a certain pool in which he would perform his ablutions. If illness struck anyone, and they put mud from the pool on the place, he would be healed by God’s permission.

He possessed *kashf*. One day we went to the market at Shādhilī, and on our return from the market we decided to visit him. Before we entered to him, one of those with us said, “Would that the *faqīh* Muḥammad would give us *sūrīj aḥmar*.” When we entered, greeted him, and were seated, he ordered one of his disciples, saying, “Come in, and bring *sūrīj aḥmar*.” He brought it, and he said, “Bring more.” We ate as much as we wanted, and left. Normally if I ate *sūrīj aḥmar*, it gave me flatulence or disagreed with me, but from that day by God’s grace and blessing it has brought me only good health. All the *maqdūms* of the west who came to him stood in awe of him, and were healed for his sake.

In the year of the fight of Walad Nāṣir, when Shaykh Muḥammad w. Rajab was defeated, we suffered somewhat at the hands of Walad Nāṣir’s men. My father al-Ḥājj Abū ‘Alī and I took horse, and we spent the night with [Muḥammad w. Nūrayn] on our way to the northern territories. My father asked him, saying, “Have you seen a vision?” He said, “I have seen nothing, but Ādam<sup>126</sup> has seen a vision.” He told us about it, saying, “It was as if he saw three moons coming from the north, and one moon coming to them from the south. The one eluded the three, eclipsed them, and cast them down to the earth. Then its light became faint, and a cloud came and covered it. Then it was uncovered, and shone with much light. Then it fell to the earth, and locusts settled on it.” My father said to him, “How do you interpret it?” He said, “I can’t interpret it”, and passed

<sup>126</sup> MSS. Istanbul and Nottingham prefix: al-Sulṭān.

it on to others. But Zarrūq, the brother of Abu'l Ḥasan, was present, and said to him, "The three moons are Walad Rajab, [67] Kamtūr, and the sons of al-Amīn. The one moon is Walad Nāṣir. He will fight them, and defeat them. The cloud is something that will befall him. The second light is Walad 'Adlān." And it was so; and after the fall of Walad 'Adlān came the Ottoman regime.<sup>127</sup>

[Muḥammad w. Nūrayn] had many *karāmāt* of which we were not informed, and here is not the place for them. He was the author of *awrād* and devotions. His disciple was the pious saint, the *faqīh* al-Miṣrī w. Qindīl, who taught the *tajwīd* of the Qur'ān, and was a man of power. He was a disciple of the perfect saint, the *faqīh* Ḥasan Sukaykra—may God profit us by them all.

There passed away in that year the saint who was constant in the recitation of the Qur'ān and *Dalā'il al-khayrāt*,<sup>128</sup> the *faqīh* Muḥammad, the son of the renowned *qutb*, the *faqīh* Aḥmad Ḥammād. In it there passed away the guardian of the *madhhab* and the Sharī'a, who knew the Truth, the divine scholar, *shaykh al-Islām*, unique in his time, the *faqīh* Muḥammad w. Dayfallāh in al-Ḥalfāya. He was the author of important works including *Kitāb ṭabaqāt al-ṣāliḥīn*,<sup>129</sup> in which he had no predecessor among earlier [writers] in his country. He commented on Ibn 'Aṭā'allāh, and he also wrote a biographical fragment.

[MS. Nottingham, pp. 76–77]

He had *karāmāt* of which he wrote. He said, "I saw two persons, the Prophet and with him Shaykh Idrīs. The shaykh said to me, 'The Apostle said to me, "You shall judge by the Sharī'a for forty years."' While I was in the presence of the Prophet and the shaykh, there was present with us someone of the officials."<sup>130</sup>

Again he said, "I saw Shaykh Khalīl, and he said to me, 'I am Khalīl, the author of the book.' He said to me, 'This book will not depart from your offspring until the earth [?] passes away].'"

Again, he was a disciple of 'Abd al-Ḥākim. He said that one day the *faqīh* Zarrūq was with a number of people sitting in front of the house of Shaykh Dayfallāh, his son, and insulting him. The *faqīh* 'Abd al-Ḥākim said, "There is a fire among them, which will almost devour their clothing and their bodies." Everyone of

<sup>127</sup> The Ottoman regime: *al-dawla al-'Uthmāniyya*.

<sup>128</sup> *Dalā'il al-khayrāt*: a devotional work by the Sufi teacher al-Jazūlī (d.c. 869/1465).

<sup>129</sup> *Kitāb ṭabaqāt al-ṣāliḥīn*: generally known as the *Ṭabaqāt* of Wad Dayfallāh.

<sup>130</sup> Someone of the officials: the meaning is not clear.

them fled a different way, although they were sitting over a well, and had no fire nor a pot [?] of fire, and no-one was doing that to them. So they realized that it was a *karāma* that had befallen them. Henceforward they avoided falling under his displeasure.

Again, Khōjalī b. Aḥmad said to him, "Master, those who sit in your place are all pure and eminent in the exposition of Islam. Among them are the *faqīh* Ḍayfallāh, a true scholar in all branches; and the *faqīh* 'Abd al-Laṭīf, who has completed some fifteen recitations of the Qur'ān, and he combines knowledge of the authorities, of fasting, and of *kalām*. 'Abd al-Bāqī and Khursī are in his head, and speech about betrothals [?]. He has much eloquence and [?] of speech. The *faqīh* Nūr al-Dīn is like his brethren." The *faqīh* Khōjalī asked him, saying, "Master, who sits in your place?" He said to him, "Nūr al-Dīn my son is less than the *faqīh* Ḍayfallāh and the *faqīh* 'Abd al-Laṭīf while they are both alive." And it came to pass as he said. The *faqīh* Ḍayfallāh and the *faqīh* 'Abd al-Laṭīf died in one space of time, the space of a month and a half, and the *faqīh* Nūr al-Dīn sat in his father's place.<sup>131</sup>

An elegy on him was written by one of his friends the perfect *faqīh* Ibrāhīm 'Abd al-Dāfi', deputy judge of the Shari'a in al-Khurṭūm, one of the champions in this field.

[11 lines of verse follow.]

[68] Many of whom no account can be given here died in this time. It was a widespread sickness.

As for what happened to him himself [i.e. Walad 'Adlān]; when God had given him the command, and his armies mustered to him, and the season had come to levy the taxes of the Arabs (to whom the levy was to be the cause of their destruction), they assembled at Sinnār. Walad 'Adlān ordered the sons of Rajab, the sons of Ḥusayn, and all the war-bands to go out to the village of Shādhilī to await him there. When they encamped there, the *Arbāb* Dafa'allāh w. Sulaymān and 'Alī w. Ilyās came to them. They honoured them, and welcomed them most honourably; and they all passed the night together. In the morning they seized them, and appointed the war-band. They set out in search of Walad 'Adlān in Sinnār. Word came to him before their arrival. He gathered the members of his household who were with him, and made a covenant with the *makk*. With

<sup>131</sup> A corrupt passage follows.

him were the Tumām, and he reviewed them with a heart of iron and great courage in warfare which would terrify a hero. None of his paternal cousins were with him, but only the slaves. He went forth to them at the top of the sand-dune after the afternoon prayer with the scholar, the perfect saint Walad Ṣubr. He and those with him withstood them with the steadfastness of the nobly born. It is said that he had no more than thirty horses, but with them were renowned horsemen, proved in battle; they were the Tumām and other slaves of Shaykh Nāṣir, the jewel of the nobly born. So they fought together. The sons of Rajab and the numerous forces with them were routed, and he returned to Sinnār with his king and his paternal uncle, Shaykh Ḥusayn.

[69] As for Dafa'allāh w. Sulaymān; when the ranks were arrayed, he was mounted on a camel with his guard behind him. He struck him on the temple, slipped from the camel's back, joined the war-band of Walad 'Adlān, and saved himself. Then Walad 'Adlān overtook them, and the war-bands fell back from him. He took up his position in Umm Jidhla. Shaykh Ḥusayn overtook them, made an undertaking with them, and returned with them to Walad 'Adlān. They all returned to Sinnār, and continued in an unhappy course of life, fever-stricken and depressed, full of memories and apprehension. Each faction was wary of the other, rancorous as camels; and the cause of it all brooded over the killing of his father in earlier days.

Then came in the year 1225 [1810–11]—and God knows best. When the time came for them to go out and encounter Rufā'a (which aroused dissension, and brought to light the secret thoughts of every man), he ordered them to go out to al-Kadarū, while he remained at Sinnār. The devil whispered to them, and one of the friendly *fuqarā'* told them that Muḥammad w. 'Adlān would be killed in Ramaḍān, in the same month as his father. They expected that to happen, and awaited it there. The matter fell out as it had been decreed on Friday, 1 Ramaḍān [1225/30 September 1810], being the first of the month in which 'Adlān was killed. Walad 'Adlān heard of them, and attacked them in al-Kadarū. He took the sons of Rajab and Muḥammad, the son of Shaykh Idrīs, prisoner, and set out with them to Shādhilī.

As for Ḥasan w. Rajab, he was staying in the village of Zāyid. Muḥammad w. Idrīs sent Kubbah to him at the head of a detachment. He encountered them with a heart like a rock and untrou-

bled firmness, and fought a hard fight. Then they fell on him, and he was wounded. They took him prisoner and carried him to Walad 'Adlān at the village of Shādhilī.

[70] As for Muḥammad w. Ibrāhīm; he remained some time at al-Manāqil, and lay in wait for them.<sup>132</sup> He was a resolute man. And as for Muḥammad w. 'Adlān; he set out for al-Manāqil, where he stopped, and killed Muḥammad w. Ibrāhīm. He sent Bādī to al-Masallamiyya escorted by the *Arbāb* Dafa'allāh [w.] Sulaymān. He took the rest of the prisoners, and made his way to the White Nile, where he stayed. He sent for everyone against whom he felt resentment, and assembled them. He sent for Bādī. They killed him in the night, and in the morning he was dead with no weapon. On the day he died, Idrīs, the son of Shaykh Bādī, was one of the accusers. The crier announced that Idrīs had come to attack Dafa'allāh. So they went out to fight him in a great procession and a huge gathering. The settlement assembled, and they came out in force until mid-day, and Bādī was not buried until after the afternoon prayer. Those who were with him were killed except for Ḥasan, because the custom of God Most High towards His creation is that no-one shall kill His victim, therefore God spared him. [Walad 'Adlān] sent also for the slaves of Shaykh Nāṣir and his grandson. He seized them all, and killed them. They intended to do this, and he got his blow in first, and was relieved of his troubles. When these notables were killed, and his heart was at rest, he decided to go to Walad Madanī, where he stayed awhile.

As for Rajab w. 'Alī, he remained in Sinnār and its vicinity. The devil whispered to him, and some of the traitors drove him to attack 'Alī w. Ilyās, who was an intimate of Walad 'Adlān. He was joined with him in some battles in which he distinguished himself. He was one of those who managed Walad 'Adlān's realm together with the *faqīh* Madanī w. al-'Abbās and the *Arbāb* Dafa'allāh w. Aḥmad. To return to the doings of Rajab w. 'Alī; he came to ['Alī w. Ilyās] in his village by night, seized him, and wounded his brother Aḥmad. They looted their village, and he took him to the *makk* in Sinnār. [The *makk*] did not accede to their wishes, and in [71] this he was supported by Shaykh Ibrāhīm w. Raḥma w. Kitfāw and Shaykh Ṣubāhī, the shaykh of the Qawwāriyya. Shaykh Farajallāh came

<sup>132</sup> MS. Nottingham adds: with his slaves.



down on them with his war-band from his village called al-Ṭrīja, and with them was Ḥusayn w. ʿAwaḍallāh, an intimate of Walad ʿAdlān. It was he who encouraged Farajallāh to fight.

[MS. Nottingham, pp. 82–3]

This Farajallāh was previously a slave of the Arabs. His master would call him "*Arbāb* Farajallāh". The slave said to him, "May God accept it from you." God answered his prayer, and from that time he became an *arbāb*, and had prestige in the kingdom.

They attacked Sinnār, and there was fighting. Both shaykhs were killed, and Rajab was routed towards Sīrū. Then he crossed to the east [bank], and stopped at al-Ṭarafāya—<sup>133</sup> God's mercy be on him. Some say that he died of fever, others of a magic potion.

As for Walad ʿAdlān; in this time he reached an understanding with Ḥasan w. Rajab, released him from his fetters, and treated him with distinction. The command of God was predestinate destiny.

In the year 1226 [1811–12] during [Walad ʿAdlān's] reign, a fight took place between the Jamīʿāb<sup>134</sup> and the Saʿdāb. The *Arbāb* Bān al-Naqā was killed. He was a generous and courageous man, constant in his devotions to the Prophet—on whom be blessings and peace. With him were killed a number of the ruling family—God's mercy be on them all. The Saʿdāb were defeated, and from that time the Jamīʿāb had might and power, and all the tribes and the government feared them.

In the year 1227 [1812–13] Muḥammad [w. ʿAdlān] set out to levy the taxes of Rufāʿa in the vicinity of Mōya. He levied the taxes of the Arabs, among whom al-Lubayḥ<sup>135</sup> was defeated. The war-band overtook him. They killed a party of the Arabs, and looted their chattels. [Walad ʿAdlān] stayed at Jabal Mōya, and the troops with their booty.

In [the year] there was killed in our village of al-Kūaywāwī a man from the company of ʿFarajallāh. The village was looted and dispersed. In [the year] we travelled to al-ʿUzaymir, where we stayed for a time. Then we returned by the east [bank], and joined [72] the noble lord, the Sharīf Muḥammad b. Raḥmatallāh. He was a

<sup>133</sup> MS. Nottingham adds: and he died there.

<sup>134</sup> Jamīʿāb: a tribe of the west bank of the White and main Niles; see MacMichael, *Arabs*, I, 221–2.

<sup>135</sup> Al-Lubayḥ was the shaykh of the Rufāʿa Arabs.

pious saint, who had a long life, possessed *kashf*, and his prayers were answered.

In the year 1228 [1813] Muḥammad [w. 'Adlān] crossed to the east [bank], and stayed at al-Ṭarafāya. Shaykh Khalīfa and the *efendi* accompanying him came to him. He was the first Ottoman spy to appear in our land.<sup>136</sup> In it there appeared a comet, and there occurred the dearth known as *jibīṣ*. It was heavy on the people, and [Walad 'Adlān] devoted himself to the purchase and distribution of corn. The *Arbāb* Dafa'allāh w. Muḥammad was celebrated for that. Praise be to Him Who gives success to whom He will of His creation when He will.

In the year 1229 [1813-14] there passed away the deeply learned scholar, Shaykh Ḥasan w. Bān al-Naqā, who was renowned for scholarship and piety. He wrote books, and was skilled in every branch of learning. He had a press of numerous books, all of which were lost in the time of the Defterdar Bey, so that the land was filled with them.

In the said year 1229 *Makk* Bādī fled to Awlād Aḥmad. Muḥammad w. 'Adlān was then staying at the village of 'Abbūd on his way to Walad 'Ajīb and Shaykh Nāṣir al-Amīn. The *makk* went to Awlād Aḥmad by the east [bank]. Muḥammad also went by the east [bank], and stopped at the islands of Walad Umm Dakūla, a known place.<sup>137</sup> Awlād Aḥmad gathered at a village called al-Kubur in the midst of rough wooded country. They remained there under increasingly strict blockade. But Muḥammad w. 'Adlān was an intelligent tactician,

<sup>136</sup> Shaykh Khalīfa: presumably Shaykh Khalīfa w. Muḥammad al-'Abbādī (cf. Hill, *Biographical dictionary*, 20), whose tribe, the 'Abābda, controlled the desert route from Upper Egypt into the Sudan. The "Ottoman spy" is referred to by Burckhardt in his account of the Sinnār caravan at Shandī: "This caravan consists of three or four hundred men, and several hundred camels, and it is joined on its return [from Egypt] by many Sennaar traders, chiefly agents of the king and his vizier, who are the principal merchants at that place. It was with this caravan that the Pasha of Egypt sent last year [1813] an envoy to Sennaar, for the purpose, as it was said, of exciting the king against the Mamelouks, and at the same time of informing himself of the practicability of invading the country with a Turkish army. Notwithstanding the contrary assertions of the government of Egypt, it is certain that the ambassador was much slighted, and narrowly escaped ill treatment in the road. He carried to the king of Sennaar presents of shawls, muslins, arms, &c. to the amount of three or four thousand dollars; in return for which the king sent to Mohammed Aly three or four ugly female slaves, some leopard skins, a civet cat, two monkeys, and a young lion, which died in its passage through the desert; the whole present was worth, at Sennaar, about eighty dollars." Burckhardt, *Travels in Nubia*, 308.

<sup>137</sup> MS. Nottingham adds: in Khashm al-Bahr. Cf. n. 57.

and had a secret understanding with the Kamātūr, for injury does not follow favour. So they proceeded to a settlement, and God Most High prospered their design; and they spared the blood of the Muslims. Then Walad ‘Adlān crossed over with his war-band after [73] peace had been made between them. He crossed indeed, and stayed at Sīrū. There came to the peace-making the *Arbāb* Dafa‘allāh Muḥammad Sulaymān and his two sons, al-Khidr and Yūsuf. They proceeded to send the *makk* back to Sinnār. Then Walad ‘Adlān set out on his return to Sinnār.

[MS. Paris, f. 25r]

Walad ‘Adlān continued living as he was until it seemed good to him in the year ‘31 [1815–16] to make war on Shaykh Nāṣir. So he advanced on him with all his troops; and before he arrived, the news reached Shaykh Nāṣir. So he left al-Ḥalfāya, and made his way to Shandī. Walad ‘Adlān entered al-Ḥalfāya, and stayed there for a time. He announced that he had deposed Shaykh Nāṣir w. al-Amīn, and appointed Shaykh Nāṣir w. ‘Abdallāh in his place. He returned from al-Ḥalfāya without achieving his aim. Then after reaching Sinnār he deposed the shaykh whom he had appointed, and confirmed the appointment of Shaykh Nāṣir [w. al-Amīn]. After that had taken place, Shaykh Nāṣir [w. al-Amīn] returned to al-Ḥalfāya, and dwelt there. Then there came in his brother’s son, who had been appointed and then deposed. He wished to join the Jamī‘āb, and strengthen himself by them in order to fight his uncle. Shaykh Nāṣir [w. al-Amīn] heard of that, and proceeded to send his son, al-Amīn, against him with troops. Before he reached the river, they encountered him in the desert. They fought him, and killed him together with those who were with him, taking some prisoners. That was in a place near Abyaḍ Dayrī and Walad Abī Sikaykīn.

As for Awlād Aḥmad; they improved the *makk*’s condition, and set forth with him. They included al-Ḥasan and the *faqīh* al-Kārnīl, the *wazīr* of Shaykh Kamtūr. They entered Sinnār with him, and he was met with good wishes and greetings. During this time they betrothed Walad ‘Adlān to the daughter of Shaykh Kamtūr. All that was to quench the fire of war and evil, and what had been eternally predestined was fulfilled. Walad ‘Adlān honoured them, and sent with them the *Arbāb* Aḥmad, son of the late al-Ḥājī Sulaymān. He had been at the fight with them. His opinion reached them

before it. When the fight took place, he swore that he would not abandon them, and he remained thus with them until God set matters right. These are the qualities of a man loyal in word and deed.

In that year 1232 [1816–17] there entered the Peninsula of Sinnār the divine scholar, the wonder of the people of the age, the seal of the possessors of gnosis, Sayyid Muḥammad ‘Uthmān [al-Mīrghanī],<sup>138</sup> the pupil of Sayyid Aḥmad b. Idrīs<sup>139</sup>—God profit us by them both and by the *baraka* of their ancestor, the Apostle of God (the blessing of God be upon him and peace). Both of them had eminent virtues and many *karāmāt*. When he (may God be pleased with him) came from Dunqula, he went down to Kordofān, where he remained as long as God willed, and summoned its people to his *ṭarīqa*. Many people followed him because of what they saw of his *baraka* and piety. At that time envy seized some people, and they traduced him to Musallim the governor.<sup>140</sup> They confronted him with every shameful thing, and gave him every offence. He and his followers remained patient thereunder until they took the very mattress which he (may God be pleased with him) possessed. He advised his disciples, and told them of this matter before it occurred, and bade them be patient. Then he set out for Sinnār. When he first entered the Peninsula, he stopped at the village of Shādhilī, and summoned the people to his *ṭarīqa*. As is God’s custom towards His creation, some believed and some disbelieved, especially as regards setting them right with God Most High. Some of them were initiated, [74] and some of them held back. Then he left them, and entered Sinnār. He confronted its rulers, and summoned them also to the *ṭarīqa*. Those who were saved were initiated by him without wavering. His age (may God be pleased with him) when he entered Sinnār was 26 years, as

<sup>138</sup> Muḥammad ‘Uthmān al-Mīrghanī (1793–1853) was a member of a religious family settled in the Hijāz, where his grandfather was an eminent Sufi authority. He was initiated into the Shādhiliyya *ṭarīqa* by Aḥmad b. Idrīs (see n. 154 below), who sent him on a mission to the Sudan as described by the Chronicler. While there he married a woman of Dunqula, by whom he had a son, al-Ḥasan. He subsequently established his own *ṭarīqa*, the Khatmiyya or Mīrghaniyya, of which al-Ḥasan became the regional head; cf. Appendix IV. See Trimmingham, *Islam in the Sudan*, 231–5.

<sup>139</sup> On Aḥmad b. Idrīs, see R.S. O’Fahey, *Enigmatic saint. Ahmad Ibn Idrīs and the Idrisi tradition*, London, 1990. His relations with Muḥammad ‘Uthmān al-Mīrghanī are dealt with in pp. 142–53.

<sup>140</sup> Musallim was in fact the title of the governor of Kordofān, appointed by the sultan of Dār Fūr.

I have been told by someone who heard him. He had *ḥālāt* of *qabḍ* and *inbisāt*.

I have been told by a trustworthy person that he was visited by the two *wazīrs*, the *Arbāb* Dafa'allāh w. Aḥmad and the *Arbāb* Dafa'allāh w. Sulaymān. Walad Sulaymān hastened to greet him. He extended his hand to him. He kissed it, and sat down. Then Walad Aḥmad came to him. He did not extend his hand to him, and he withdrew. Rather he said to him, "A shield!", and retired to his mattress. Thereafter that *wazīr* endeavoured to test him, and to know his condition. I heard from one of his disciples that he heard from Sayyid Aḥmad b. Idrīs that everything that befell the land of the Sūdān was on account of the offence they gave to Muḥammad 'Uthmān. I heard from them also that when Musallim harrassed them, he said to his disciples, "Be patient! God will take them in His own time." So it befell, and they were destroyed at the hands of the Defterdar Bey.

He had many virtues. One of his *karāmāt* was what happened in connection with his disciple Aḥmad al-Shanbātī. When he set out on Pilgrimage to the Holy House of God, he stopped at Qōz Rajab. He saw the Elect One (blessings and peace be on him), and he commanded him to join [al-Mīrghani] in al-Tāka.<sup>141</sup> He said to him, "I have set out on Pilgrimage." He said to him, "If he commands you to go, go; and if he commands you to return, then return." When he joined him (may God be pleased with him), he initiated him into his *ṭarīqa*, and ordered him to return. So he protested. So he [al-Mīrghani] informed him [al-Shanbātī] of the vision, and recounted it to him just as it was. Then he returned, and guided the people to God; and he is now the chief *khalīfa*.

There died in that year the famous scholar, the master of eloquence and rhetoric, the Sībawayh<sup>142</sup> of his age and the Sanūsī<sup>143</sup> of his time, the meticulous researcher, the guide of students and the proof of adepts, he by whom God set right the Valley,<sup>144</sup> Ibrāhīm, son of the *faqīh* 'Alī Baqādī—God have mercy on them both, and profit us by them: Amen. As to the reason for his death; it is said that when Muḥammad 'Uthmān entered Sinnār and there came to pass from him what came to pass, the *Arbāb* Dafa'allāh w. Aḥmad

<sup>141</sup> Al-Tāka: the Kasala region.

<sup>142</sup> Sībawayh: the founder of Arabic grammar (d. c. 180/796).

<sup>143</sup> Sanūsī: Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Sanūsī (d. 895/1490), an influential Maghribī theologian.

<sup>144</sup> The Valley: the Nile.



sent for Ibrāhīm to debate<sup>145</sup> with him. He set out from his place, Baqādī, [75] and entered Sinnār at mid-day. [Al-Mīrghani] sent to greet him. He said to him, "We have arrived weary. God willing, we shall meet with you on Friday." The Sharīf said, "Say to him, 'God willing, we shall not meet.'" Then the eminent scholar Ibrāhīm fell ill, and his sickness increased. One who was present said,<sup>145</sup> "When he awoke, he said, 'God be praised. His is the command!'" The undiscerning ascribe it to the Sharīf. So he passed away—God's mercy be on him.

In the year 1233 [1817–18] there passed away my shaykh, the *faqīh* Muḥammad, in the village of al-Masallamiyya. He was a pious man, frequently reciting the Qur'ān, attached to *Dalā'il al-khayrāt*, and of many *awrād*. In it my mother passed away. God's mercy be on all. In it there was killed Ḥamad w. Abū [sic] Sinn, killed by the Baṭāḥīn; and there was the high Nile known as the Nile of Walad Abū Sinn.

[MS. Paris, f. 26r]

At the end of the year '33 [c. Sept, 1818] the river rose greatly, and demolished the village of al-Bashāqira on the east [bank]. That high Nile is known as "the Nile of Walad Abī Sinn", because Ḥamad, the son of Shaykh 'Awaḍ al-Karīm Abū Sinn, was killed in it. The Baṭāḥīn killed him, and joined King Nimr. Shaykh Muḥammad Abū Sinn advanced against them with all his brothers and cousins and the nomad Arabs in a great army, prepared to fight King Nimr. The *fuqarā'* and the sons of the pious intervened between them, and prevented them from fighting. So they returned to their country.<sup>146</sup>

<sup>145</sup> MS. Istanbul adds: in his sickness.

<sup>146</sup> Another version of this episode is given from a Shukriyya source by Shubayka, *Ta'rikh*, Notes, 20/3 (pp. 11–13), and may be summarized as follows:—

Ḥamad w. 'Awaḍ al-Karīm Abū Sinn, when on his way to the Bishārīn, his maternal uncles, was treacherously slain in a fight with 'Alī w. Birayr of the Baṭāḥīn. Fearing the vengeance of the Shukriyya, Walad Birayr sought refuge with Makk Nimr of the Ja'aliyyūn, who was thereby placed in a dilemma, as the Shukriyya were the maternal uncles of his sons, 'Umāra and Khālid. He planned to escape from his dilemma by writing to inform the Shukriyya that he would send Walad Birayr to a particular place in Wādī al-Hawād, where they could take their revenge by killing him. The plan was made known to Walad Birayr, who jeered that Nimr was afraid to fight the Shukriyya, and he bribed the royal bard, al-U'aysir, to satirize him in full court. Al-U'aysir was also bribed by Nimr's women, the rivals of his Shukriyya wife to incite Nimr to war. Nimr and the Shukriyya both led out their forces, but the Shukriyya had already bribed al-U'aysir in the opposite sense.

In the year 1234 [1818–19] the *Arbāb* Dafa'allāh w. Muḥammad Sulaymān was wrongfully killed. He was assassinated between Walad Madanī and the village of Walad al-Majdhūb. It is related by someone who arrived at the time of the murder that when they fell on him, he was riding a donkey; and someone with him was riding a camel with the *arbāb*'s sword. When they encountered them, his companion recognized them, was wounded, and fled with the sword. He himself withstood them. He asked them about Walad 'Adlān, whether he had been seized or killed—out of his solicitude for him, as it says in the proverb, "I desire his life, and he desires my killing." His career is too well known to be recounted here. He was carried to his house, and buried at al-Zurūfāb with his relative by marriage, Walad Hammād—God's mercy be on them both. His resolution showed in that when he was killed, he did not move from where he was. Then Walad 'Adlān gave a promise of security to his son Muḥammad, and granted him the rank of his father.

Then in the year 1235 [1819–20] Muḥammad [w. 'Adlān] levied the taxes of the Arabs at Walad al-Rūka. He stayed after the levy [76] at al-Qirayqirayb, and settled his business with those accompanying him. Relieved of this, he turned his attention to Shaykh Kamtūr because of the killing of his father. He concealed the matter from his *wazīr* and his companions, crossed to the east [bank], and sent him a deceptive message to the effect that they had broken their compact with him, "and you have not fulfilled your bond with us." While the correspondence was proceeding, he set out towards them, and suddenly he was in their territory. He encountered them on the east [bank] with a war-band. He crossed at the ford, and went out to them. The shaykh encountered them with a heart of iron as his reputation in the south behoved him. His troops were few without all his brothers, so he was killed—the mercy of God Most High be on him. In it there was killed al-Ḥājj Aḥmad b. al-Ḥājj al-Ṭayyib. He was a scholar and a rhetorician but he profited nobody by his scholarship, and his books were dispersed throughout the land. With him was killed al-Ḥājj 'Alī w. Bilāl. Muḥammad returned to Sinnār with rejoicing and pleasure at his victory, having avenged his father on all those who were stained with his blood, and exacted retaliation.

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When the bard arose and said his piece, Nimr calmed down, and abandoned the fight. Someone advised Walad Birayr to flee secretly, and called on the Shukriyya to show hospitality to him and to the Ja'aliyyūn.

tion from them. He was praised by one of the *fuqarā'* who dealt with his genealogy, saying:—

[13 lines of verse follow.]

[77] As for Awlād Aḥmad; when they heard of the killing of Shaykh Kamtūr, they made ʿDirār their chief, and were wholly with him. They made a mutual compact for warfare and fighting. When the time came to levy the taxes of the Arabs, Walad 'Adlān proceeded to al-Rārāba. The Arabs made a *zarība* there, and Awlād Aḥmad went down to their territory by the river. Then they moved towards Walad 'Adlān for battle. That was in the said year. God willed their arrival. The news came to them [i.e. Walad 'Adlān and his men] in the daytime, and they prepared to fight. His brother Rajab was at that time in al-Qunjār. When the ranks were arrayed, and he was told of who was present with them, his war-band did not please him. His mood changed to gloom, and he thought of his absent brother. When the darkness of night fell, they attacked them. They were famous warriors, experienced in warfare, but victory is from God, the Lord of the worlds. Tayfara and Ḥamad w. al-Bayt were killed. The war-band of Walad 'Adlān was routed from al-Maḥāṣṣ, which was the battlefield, and he returned home. When he found his war-band scattered, and realized his defeat, he went into his house, took his wife Bakhīta, and went forth, accompanied by al-Hādī w. 'Ajīb. He was humiliated and deserted, while Awlād Aḥmad stood at the entrance of the *hōsh*, uncertain of victory.

As for what remained of the war-band of Walad 'Adlān, such as Dafa'allāh w. Aḥmad, the sons of Sulaymān, Walad Farajallāh and Adham w. 'Adlān, they halted beside the town, and the war-band of Awlād Aḥmad withdrew. As for Shaykh ʿDirār, he took flight that night. This was not his custom, but his *wazīr* sowed doubts in his mind. Morning came to the rest of them, and Walad 'Adlān's company sent a message to their lord. The messenger reached him, and gave him the joyful news of victory. He thought it untrue, and so did those with him. They said to him, [78] "This is a ruse and a trick." So the messenger seized his bridle, and said to him, "Go back! If you do not find what I say is correct, kill me!" At that he returned.

As for the rest of the war-band, some of them reached Sinnār, and some joined Walad 'Adlān. So they withdrew. Someone who was there on that night told me, he said, "When the war-band was routed, Muḥammad w. Jum'a sought the *khalwa* of the *faqīh* Ya'qūb

b. al-‘Abaṭī, and stopped there. He chid him, and said to him, “Return!” So he told him of Walad ‘Adlān’s defeat, and he said to him again, “Return! If one steed remains standing, the victory is Walad ‘Adlān’s!” And so it was by the power of God Most High, for Awlād Aḥmad’s intention had been to sack the village of the *fuqarā* after the victory, and God protected them from that by His providence.

As for Walad ‘Adlān; when he had completed his business there, he returned to his place, taking Sulaymān with him as a prisoner. Nevertheless he was troubled in mind because of his previous defeat. He lived a praiseworthy life, displaying moderation and refraining from the chattels of the people, and he was courageous. All his years were a time of prosperity. However he was passionate in the love of women. No-one with a rosy fingernail or a dark eye could be mentioned in his presence, for he would not hold back his hand from what his soul craved in that way. One of his sons was ‘Adlān, a man of greater abstinence and more unblemished life than his father; he was characteristically religious. He had also a son called Hasan who was killed at Abū Ramla, as well as other sons.

As for the reason for his death; as Shaykh al-Ūshā had said: “Prayers have a far-reaching effect although those in error may deny it.” It is said that there was a marriage-relationship between Shaykh Aḥmad al-Rayyāḥ and Dafa‘allāh w. Aḥmad. When the period of good fortune was over, Dafa‘allāh became jealous of the shaykh, and sought an opportunity to stir up enmity in his family. He roused them against him, and incited dissension. There came forward Shaykh al-Ṭirayfi and Dafa‘allāh his brother, ‘Abdallāh w. Abū [sic] ‘Āqila and the rest of Awlād al-Ṣāmūta. Shaykh Aḥmad was his assistant in the *hōsh*, and Dafa‘allāh w. Muḥammad. When he [Dafa‘allāh w. Muḥammad] died, he was left without backing, and only God Most High was with him. They helped one another against him, sought the assistance of Dafa‘allāh w. Aḥmad, and spent freely. So he [Dafa‘allāh w. Aḥmad] interested Muḥammad [w. ‘Adlān] in the matter, and he sent to Shaykh Aḥmad al-Rayyāḥ to resign the *khilāfa*. That (and God knows best) was in [79] the month of Rabī‘ II 1236 [January–February 1821]. Shaykh Aḥmad went out to the village of Walad Anqāwī, where he stayed.

As for Walad ‘Adlān, he dwelt at Minā, safe from the places of destruction. He had received sure information of the coming of the

son of the viceroy of Egypt,<sup>147</sup> Ismā'īl Pasha. He assembled the leading *fuqarā'* and others to make enquiries, and wrote to the kings of the Ja'aliyyūn, the Kunjāra and other tribes to mobilize and muster at al-Khurṭūm. He sent his son 'Adlān forward for that purpose at the head of a war-band, and he himself was to travel directly after him. Shaykh Aḥmad al-Rayyāḥ started out to meet him at Minā before he left, having some resentment in the matter; so he remained at Minā.

In those days Rajab w. 'Adlān returned from the west. He was in Sinnār, and Muḥammad [w. 'Adlān] in his village of Minā. Ḥasan w. Rajab moved with five horsemen and 25 foot-soldiers; and came to him, and attacked him. The gate was broken open, and they entered in on him. There were in the village at that time the *Arbāb* Dafa'allāh [w. Aḥmad] the *wazīr*, and those with him. So Muḥammad went forth to them, and met them with a heart of iron and firm courage. They feared to face him. One of his household entered on him from the gate of the women's quarters, and severed his leg. He fell, and they attacked him with sharp swords, and cut him to pieces. In the morning Ḥasan w. Rajab was in the *ḥōsh* of Walad 'Adlān. He was joined by the *Arbāb* Dafa'allāh and those with him. Shaykh Aḥmad was there, and buried Muḥammad with his own hands. This was because of their lack of *baraka*. Aḥmad w. al-Walī told me that he saw Shaykh Aḥmad al-Rayyāḥ enter on Muḥammad w. 'Adlān, and strike him on the leg with a sword. This was the first of his limbs to be severed—God's mercy be on him. As for the rest of the war-bands, they mustered in the village of Kūsh. Rajab w. 'Adlān went out to meet them. They made him their chief, and covenanted together to help him. They set out in search of Ḥasan w. Rajab. As for him; when night fell, Dafa'allāh and those with him fled from him. In the morning he set out [80] for Sinnār, where he found none to help him. So he went forth to go to the south. As for Rajab and those with him, they reached Sinnār, and stayed there. That was in the month of Jumādā II [1236/March–April 1821]. Rajab

<sup>147</sup> The viceroy of Egypt: *'Azīz Miṣr*, literally "the mighty one of Egypt." *'Azīz* is the title given to the Qur'anic counterparts of Potiphar and Joseph as ministers of Pharaoh. *'Azīz Miṣr* is used in some Ottoman sources to signify the Mamluk sultan, and it was appropriated in an inscription (1772) by 'Alī Bey, then the *de facto* ruler of Egypt; see B. Lewis, *EL2*, I, 825, s.v.



and the rest stayed, and in the month of Sha'bān [May-June] there occurred among them the inspiration of the devil and the fulfilment of the divine predestination. Idrīs w. 'Adlān, Muḥammad w. Farajallāh and those with them rebelled against Rajab, and they fought together. Rajab and Dafa'allāh w. Aḥmad were routed, and they reached the district of 'Abbūd, where they stayed for a few days in Sha'bān.

This is an account of what passed in their history, and their rule ended in that year. May God have mercy on their dead, and grant them a great reward. They were the leaders of the aristocracy, the lords of the noble houses. How many a stranger did they shelter, to how many a poor man did they show mercy, and make him a kinsman.

He who announced their deaths said of them, when he saw fate's summoner call them, and drank of patience at their loss and misfortune, and lamented them in these verses:—

[30 verses follow.]

[81] This is what concerns Shaykh Muḥammad Abū Likaylik and his descendants, and those who held office after him until the time when the people of the Ottoman regime took the kingdom from them. May God have mercy upon all through His grace and generosity. Truly He is bountiful and generous and of great favour.

[MS. Nottingham, pp. 94-7]

This is the account of the kings of the Funj and the Hamaj, the kings of the divinely guarded city of Sinnār, and all of the kings of the Blacks.

As for the Hamaj, known now as the *wazīrs* of the kingdom of Sinnār, their original genealogy is that they were by origin slaves from a mountain called Tābī. There came from them a slave whose name was Hamāj, and he travelled downstream beside the blessed Nile. He came to a town famous in the kingdom called Qarrī, and he found the ruler of the said town, Shaykh 'Ajīb al-Manjuluk. When the shaykh looked on him, he found him to be a brave and powerful slave. He would grasp the prey in his hand for he was strong and courageous, and also perspicacious. Shaykh 'Ajīb desired him, and wished him to marry his daughter. Hamāj would not agree, for he was a traveller, and his desire was to traverse [?] the country. So he set out from the shaykh, going through all the kingdom of Sinnār. When he had travelled through all the realm, and knew the state of the country, he made his way to his dwelling-place in the mountains, and went straight to his own

Jabal Tābī. He assembled his people and his maternal uncles, and informed them about all he had seen in the country. When they heard this from him, they said to him, "We are in your hand; do with us what you will." So he took his sons, his paternal cousins, and some of his friends and maternal uncles, and returned beside the Nile until they came to the city of Sinnār. He found that the Funj were the kings of Sinnār. So they settled in that country, and served in the king's palace. They married there, had children, and increased greatly until they had prestige and power in the kingdom. They became renowned by the name of the Hamaj.

A considerable time after the death of Hamāj, a man called Shaykh Muḥammad Abū Likaylik became renowned among them. He was *wazīr* to King Bādī, and was a valiant hero and a headstrong horseman. He was thoughtful, and a capable manager. King Bādī loved him, and committed all the business of the kingdom to him. [The shaykh] went with the troops on campaign in the western territory in the districts of Kordofān and the nine and ninety hills of Taqālī. They overcame them by fighting until they all submitted, and became subject to him. He took all their possessions and the prisoners, and brought them to the king of Sinnār. The king received him with every sign of joy. He and his descendants after him obtained a great reputation in the kingdom. After he had lived awhile in Sinnār, he passed away to the mercy of the Most High, leaving his son, Shaykh Nāṣir, as *wazīr* in his place in the kingdom. He was superior to his father in courage and capacity.

After the power of the Hamaj became manifest in all the kingdom of Sinnār, whenever they were troubled by the king, one of them (and he the chief among them) would come with some of the magnates of the state and some of the king's kinsmen of the Funj, i.e. Awlād Maṭar and Awlād al-Faḍīl. They would all go and stand in the king's presence. The *wazīr* would begin by saying thus to him: "O king, you are truly our lord, and we are your slaves. Now your oppression of the subjects, and your lack of justice have become apparent, and it falls not only upon them but upon us all. Now the subjects have rejected you, and the magnates of the kingdom have rejected you, and we have rejected you, and God has rejected you, and the Apostle has rejected you." Then the king would say to them, "I hear and obey God's command. Do what you will by His command." Then if God cut

short his life, the *wazīr* would at once take off his head with his sword. If he was strong and skillful in management, he would be put to flight from among them to the borders of the country in disguise, and would live under duress [?] all the remaining days of his life. At the same time another of the Funj who were with him would be made king.

When they made another king, they would act thus with him. Those who had deposed or killed the king would fetch a golden dish. They would all take it, bring it before the king, and place it under his chin, while he was sitting on a golden stool, which they called the king's *kakar*, i.e. the king's stool. Beside it was a sword and the Qur'ān of 'Uthmān. Awlād Maṭar and Awlād al-Faḍīl would be present. They would take razors in their hands, and everyone of them would begin to shave him. A herald would cry throughout the town, saying thus: "At such-and-such a time King So-and-so was deposed (or killed), and King So-and-so of the lineage of the Funj was installed in his place. So obey his command." After they had shaved him, and placed on his head a *lāqīyya* made of gold with horns at its sides, the *wazīr*, who was of the lineage of the Hamaj, would stand before him, and would say thus to him: "You are our lord, and we are your slaves; the lord of all the kingdom of Sinnār, both slaves and freemen. They hear your word, and obey your command. We are all your slaves until God shall judge, and He is the best of judges." The end.

An appendix in which we shall (God willing) give an account of Shaykh 'Adlān w. Ṣubāḥī. [82] His reputation was celebrated and widespread together with Shaykh Muḥammad [Abū Likaylik]. I have been unable to ascertain whether or not there was a shaykhdom before him. God knows best.

Before them the people of Lūnī and others held the territory of Khashm al-Baḥr. Shaykh 'Adlān died together with Shaykh Muḥammad [Abū Likaylik] in the year 1190 [1776-77]. After him his brother's son, Shaykh Aḥmad, became shaykh. The sons of Shaykh 'Adlān w. Ṣubāḥī were Shaykh Ṣubāḥī (who was shaykh in the time of Shaykh Bādī [w. Rajab]), 'Ajīb, Bādī (who was shaykh in the time of [Muḥammad] w. Nāṣir), and Naṣṣār the Open-handed, who became proverbial, and is comparable only to Ḥātim al-Ṭayyī.<sup>148</sup>

<sup>148</sup> Ḥātim al-Ṭayyī: the proverbial paragon of Arab hospitality.

Of this there are many instances, one of which will suffice: his offering of his son to a beggar who came to him, and he could not find anything else. When 'Adlān was satisfied with a woman or a concubine, he would give her in marriage to Aḥmad, his brother's son. So most of the sons of Aḥmad were brothers to the sons of Shaykh 'Adlān.

As for Aḥmad, he became shaykh after Shaykh Bādī [w. Rajab] had deposed him, and had been killed. He was shaykh until Makk 'Adlān killed him with Ibrāhīm and others.

Shaykh Kamtūr, with whom the name of the Kamātūr achieved renown, became shaykh. He was their eldest brother. With them he evaded the civil strife of the Hamaj and their fighting, so that they grew great with him. They became strong, and opposed him over the killing of 'Adlān. The battle of Umm Ṣuwaybayna and its consequences occurred through them. They had famous encounters with the Arabs, and in spite of their fewness they were victorious over every opponent. They had intelligence, sagacity and generosity, and they associated with the Arab tribesmen. Few in their time would return home without experiencing the strength of their magnanimity and generosity. A dervish who came to them would find them dervishes; a prince, princes. Tales were told of their generosity, and reports were known to their contemporaries. For instance, it is said that Idrīs w. Aḥmad, who was killed on the day of al-Rārāba, used to recite *Dalā'il al-khayrāt*, and gave provisions to great and small. After he had been killed, he remained in the sun until mid-day or nearly noon without changing, nor was any offensive smell perceived, although the sun quickly changes a corpse. That was through the *baraka* of *Dalā'il al-khayrāt* and the provision [83] of food.

Among them was Shaykh Kamtūr, as mentioned. After him was Shaykh Ḍirār, well-known for his courage, so that on the day of Ṭayyiba there were on his body and his mail 52 sword and spear strokes. He recovered his helmet from the slaves of Walad Nāṣir after it had fallen from his head, and all of them were valiant slaves.

After him al-Ḥasan became shaykh. He was renowned for good fortune and resolution. He was the companion of Ḍirār wherever he dwelt or stayed. His generosity in the year 1241 [1825-6] was renowned. He was arrested in the time of Khūrshīd Pasha, and died of smallpox in al-Khurṭūm.

After him Shaykh Sulaymān became shaykh, and he is now living, a master of eloquence and good management. From the time of his

brother Shaykh Kamtūr he was a good and decisive counsellor, representing all sides. All his contemporaries praise him. He is a religious man. It is said that every day he reads a portion of *Shamā'il al-Nabī*<sup>149</sup> (on whom be peace) and *Dalā'il al-khayrāt*; then he goes to the office. This is his custom.

[MS. Paris, f. 26v]

As for the shaykhs of Khashm al-Baḥr; amongst them was Shaykh 'Adlān w. Ṣubāḥī, who was with Shaykh Muḥammad Abū Likaylik, and died a few days after him. He was succeeded by his brother's son, Shaykh Aḥmad w. 'Alī, the father of Shaykh Kamtūr. Then Shaykh Bādī w. Rajab deposed him, and appointed Shaykh Ṣubāḥī w. 'Adlān. Then the said Shaykh Aḥmad was appointed to the shaykhdom after his deposition, and he remained shaykh until King 'Adlān killed him. He was succeeded by Shaykh Muḥammad Kamtūr, whom Walad 'Adlān killed. He was clement, irascible, not given to foolish speech or abuse. If he became angry, he would curse the devil. His brothers were a company. They were characteristically generous in their relations with people, so that anyone in their society could not bear to leave them because of their courage and generosity. They had a knowledge of the matters of their Faith. The shaykh was succeeded by his brother, Shaykh Ḍirār, and in his time the time of their independence came to an end.

As for the state of the 'Abdallāb and the Sa'dāb; we have given no account of them for lack of information about their affairs, or because they were one kingdom.

The duration of the kingdom of the Funj, when it was exclusive to them, and they held the power to loose and bind in it, the domination, the supremacy, the power of life and death, was until the year 1174 [1760-1], 274 years; and from the time it came to Shaykh Muḥammad [Abū Likaylik] and his descendants it was until the year 1236 [1821]. So it was theirs exclusively until the coming of the Ottoman regime for 61 years and 8 months, for the taking of the kingdom from them was in the month of Ramaḍān 1236 [June 1821]. So the duration of the kingdom of them all, and of their settlement in Sinnār, was 335 years and 8 months.

<sup>149</sup> *Shamā'il al-Nabī*: a book by al-Tirmidhī (d. 279/892) on the character and appearance of the Prophet.



This is what appears to us—and God knows best. Shaykh Idrīs w. al-Arbāb (God's mercy be on him) told of all their fighting, of what would happen in their kingdom, and of their decline. All the saint told has come to pass, even the entry of his Excellency Ismā'īl Pasha in the month of Ramaḍān, who shattered their military power, and quenched its fire. The pious saint, the *faqīh* Hijāzī, a descendant of Shaykh Idrīs, stated that the kingdom of the Hamaj was his private property, and he disposed it according to letters. He said, "MBRNA'MD." As for M, it is Shaykh Muḥammad Abū Likaylik; B is Shaykh Bādī; R is Shaykh Rajab; N is Shaykh Nāṣir; A is Shaykh Idrīs; 'is Shaykh 'Adlān; the second M Muḥammad w. Rajab. As for D, it is an indication of its number, four, for among them were four Muḥammads; to wit, Muḥammad w. Nāṣir, Muḥammad w. Ibrāhīm, Muḥammad w. 'Adlān, and Muḥammad Abū Likaylik the Predecessor.

Praise be to Him Who knows the invisible, Who forgives sins, Who covers faults. Only His kingdom remains, and all else passes away. We beseech God the King, the Benefactor, to bestow upon us the seal of faith, to cause them and us to dwell in the gardens of Paradise, and to make us of the party of His Prophet, the Truthful One, the 'Adnān. He is able to accomplish His will, worthy to be answered.

Here ends the account of them. Their nights have become anecdotes and homilies. How good it is to reflect and take warning, to look on what befell them and expect what came to them, and to be prepared. As Ṣāhib al-Qurṭubīyya has said, "What was to be for kingdom and king came to pass, as is related concerning the spectre and Sinān." As for the survivors of all that has been recounted, their condition today has become like the situation of their inferiors.

The End

## 2. THE TURCO-EGYPTIAN REGIME

[87] *Account of the Ottoman state and their invasion of the Funj territories: an account of the first of the invaders and what happened in their time.*

We shall give an account of it as far as possible, and we say, "By God, to Whom we turn for help, and on Whom we rely."

And thereafter:

The first of them who invaded the land of the Sūdān, who brought an end to the tyranny in it, and who replaced oppression with justice and beneficence were the viceroy of Egypt and the son of its viceroy, our lord Ismā'īl Pasha, the son of al-Ḥājī Muḥammad 'Alī Pasha (may the clouds of divine favour ever rain upon him, and may his days ever increase in felicity!)<sup>1</sup>

The start of the invasion from Cairo was in the year 1235 [1819–20]. He [Ismā'īl Pasha] blockaded the Shāyqiyya in their

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<sup>1</sup> Al-Jabartī has a few references to the invasion of the Sudan in the last few months of his chronicle, *'Ajā'ib al-āthār* (trans. Thomas Philipp and Moshe Perlmann, *Abd al-Rahmān al-Jabartī's history of Egypt*, Stuttgart, 1994), as below:—

1. Philipp and Perlmann, IV, 432: Jumādā I 1235/15 Feb.–15 March 1820. During this month the pasha resolved to attack the Sudan. Some said that his goal was Sennar; others, Dārfūr. The army was commanded by his son Ismā'īl Pasha and others. Many supplies were sent to Upper Egypt and biscuits and other foods were prepared in the villages of that area and Sharqīya. Great effort was devoted to this campaign. Messengers were sent to assemble the beduin shaykhs and tribes.

2. Ibid., 437: Dhu'l-Qa'da 1235/10 Aug.–8 Sept. 1820.

Ismā'īl Pasha departed for Upper Egypt in command of the troops designated for Nubia.

3. Ibid., 448: Rajab 1236/4 April–3 May 1821.

On the 17th (April 20) Muḥammad Bey al-Daftardār left for Dārfūr in the Sudan, having been preceded there by large detachments of Turkish and Maghribī troops.

4. Ibid., 450: Dhu'l-Qa'da 1236/31 July–29 Aug. 1821.

After the pasha's [i.e. Muḥammad 'Alī's] departure, Ibrāhīm Pasha left for Upper Egypt on his way to Nubia.

5. Ibid., 451: Dhu'l-Ḥijja 1236/30 Aug.–27 Sept. 1821.

In this month many troops and their commanders left for Nubia and lands beyond in the Sudan. Among these were Maḥū Bey and the Maghribīs with war matériel, including cannons, ammunition, gun powder, mining equipment, and all other necessities.

6. News arrived from Upper Egypt of Ismā'īl Pasha's capture of Sennar without hostilities and the submission of its inhabitants to his authority. To celebrate this news cannons were fired from the Citadel.

land, and overcame them. Those who submitted were granted an amnesty, and those who fled made a stand in Dār al-Abwāb until his auspicious arrival. They came before him, and he amnestied them.

[MS. Nottingham, pp. 98-100]

He [Ismā'īl Pasha] blockaded the Shāyqiyya in a hill called al-Ḍayqa because it is a narrow pass,<sup>2</sup> and it is near to the land of the Shāyqiyya. The Shāyqiyya are twelve tribes: the 'Adlānāb, the Suwārāb, the Ṣalāḥāb, the 'Awniyya, the Ḥannakāb, the Ḥawāshāb, the 'Āmirāb, the Ya'qūbāb, the Nafa'āb, the Musālim, the Rubāṭāb, and the Nūba. All these tribes assembled before their kings, King Shāwīsh and King Zubayr. They were about 120,000. They beat their drums<sup>3</sup> and their war-drums,<sup>4</sup> and advanced to encounter Ismā'īl Pasha. The two parties met below that mountain, and fought together. Ismā'īl Pasha was routed with his Maghāribā and 'Abābda troops,<sup>5</sup> about a thousand or more of his army being killed, as were some five hundred or more tribesmen.

The Pasha remained blockaded in the entrance to the mountain for about seventy days until more troops reached him from Cairo, most of them being Albanians. Some of them came by land, others in boats on the river. They brought artillery with them, and were about 15,000 strong. On their arrival Ismā'īl Pasha advanced with them and his army in their ranks. The fighting became severe, there were many encounters; the cities were obscured, and almost the countries. It was a great day like to no other. Some 40,000 of the tribesmen were killed, 10,000 of their notables. The Shāyqiyya were routed, and their power was shattered. They were dismayed, and took counsel one with another what to do.

Then one of them called al-Faḥl w. 'Amāra arose, and spoke thus: "We are all defeated, and Ismā'īl Pasha has taken our war-drums. There is none like him." He said to them, "I shall not flee, but I myself will return to Ismā'īl Pasha, and take the king's war-drum from him." And so it was that he mounted his horse, and advanced towards the Pasha's troops, going straight for the tent where the war-drum was. All the troops levelled their fire at him, and by the power of God nothing touched him. He bore

<sup>2</sup> The Chronicler here uses the Turkish word *boğaz* for "pass".

<sup>3</sup> Drums: *ṭubūl*.

<sup>4</sup> War-drums: *naqāqīr*; cf. n. 74.

<sup>5</sup> Maghāribā and 'Abābda: the Maghāribā (s. Maghribī) were troops originating from the Maghrib, i.e. north-west Africa. For the 'Abābda, cf. n. 136.

His Name, for he had an amulet with the Greatest Name. He entered the tent on horseback, took the war-drum on the point of his spear, and returned safely with it to King Shāwīsh. The Shāyqiyya fled to the districts of Barbar, Shandī and al-Matamma.

Ismā'īl Pasha set out thence with his troops, and halted at the village of Marawī, which was their capital. He appointed a man called 'Abd al-Kāshif as his deputy in that village. He stayed there for some days and sent an amnesty to all the tribes. One of their notables called Shaykh Muḥammad Nūr Janqāl, a Qur'ānic scholar, came to him. The Pasha gave him an amnesty, and ordered him to have a robe of honour. The shaykh went to the Shāyqiyya, his people, and told them what had befallen him. He came again to Ismā'īl Pasha accompanied by all the notables of the Shāyqiyya. The Pasha gave them an amnesty, reassured them, and ordered robes of honour for them. He appointed the shaykh as paramount shaykh over them. They all proceeded to request an amnesty of the ruling power. The said shaykh died in '52 [1836-7], and was succeeded by his son, Shaykh Muḥammad.

[Ismā'īl Pasha] entered the Peninsula after *Makk Nimr* and *Makk al-Musā'id* had come before him, and submitted. On the first day of Ramaḍān 1236 [2 June 1821] he encamped at Umm Durmān on the west side opposite al-Khurṭūm. Some of the people fled from him, and some of them came before him. He granted them an amnesty for others as well as themselves, and invested them with robes of honour. [His army]<sup>6</sup> mustered at al-Khurṭūm. He took a quantity of fodder from them, and set out. His halting-places are not clear to me.

On the sixth day of Ramaḍān [7 June] he encamped at the village of Waḥīda, opposite al-Masallamiyya. The chiefs, *marātib* and others who were assembled, and came before him at that halting-place. They requested an amnesty and the confirmation of their possessions as they were under the previous oppressive regimes. They offered hospitality-dues of sheep and butter, but he accepted nothing from them except at its price. There were with him at that time the two kings of Ja'al already mentioned, and al-Amīn w. al-Shaykh Nāṣir. He took fodder for the beasts, and set out by night. Rajab w. 'Adlān and Dafa'allāh w. Aḥmad joined him on the way. He

<sup>6</sup> His army: added from MS. Nottingham.

granted them an amnesty, invested them with robes of honour, and conferred swords on them as on others previously. He journeyed on until he encamped at Minā or elsewhere. The rest of the Hamaj and the war-bands came before him. He amnestied them also, [88] and invested them with robes of honour. They returned, and brought him the *makk* of the Funj with their customary ceremonial and regalia. He amnestied him, and invested him with a robe of honour appropriate to his station. That was the end of their rule and the extinction of their arrogance.

He entered Sinnār on the twelfth night of Ramaḍān [13 June]. All who were there came before him, and he honoured everyone according to his previous status and fortune.<sup>7</sup> He stayed there for some days. The first thing he did was to send a patrol for Ḥasan w. Rajab, who had killed Muḥammad w. 'Adlān; and he put Rajab w. 'Adlān in command. They caught up with him in the vicinity of Arānij. A skirmish took place in which some were killed. He was wounded and taken prisoner, and they returned with him to Sinnār. He came before the Pasha, who amnestied him, and he became one of his favourites. Of those taken with him, 'Abdallāh Niqil<sup>8</sup> was put to death. They put him to death by impalement, and this was the first time impalement was used in the land of the Sūdān. Others were put to death by the sword. Then in that year they brought in to him al-Ḥājī 'Alī w. Timsāḥ,<sup>9</sup> one of the people of Barbar. He was put to death on the gallows, and he was likewise the first so to be put to death. Then in that year he sent the *divan efendi* in command of a patrol to al-Muḥayna. They came on him at his place on the White Nile, killed him, took what he had with him, and returned to Sinnār rejoicing with their booty.

At that time his Excellency's judge was Muḥammad Efendi, his *muftī* was al-Sayyid Aḥmad al-Baqlī, and the Mālikī *muftī* was al-Sayyid Aḥmad Efendi al-Salāwī, whose qualities we shall relate (God willing) at the time when he became a judge. [Ismā'il's] deputy<sup>10</sup> was Muḥammad Sa'īd Efendi, who became *kāhya*; and his *mubāshir*

<sup>7</sup> See Appendix III (a).

<sup>8</sup> Niqil: MS. Paris, Jiqil; Shubayka, Jiqir.

<sup>9</sup> The family of Timsāḥ, from the Mīrafāb tribe, provided the rulers of Barbar. 'Alī w. Timsāḥ and his uncle, Naṣr al-Dīn, were rivals for power, and the position of the latter was finally confirmed by Ismā'il Pasha. Cf. Burckhardt, *Travels in Nubia*, 211; Hill, *Biographical dictionary*, 292.

<sup>10</sup> Deputy: *wakīl*.



was Ḥannā al-Ṭawīl. The first innovation was the affair of Sāwī w. Kābū. The Pasha ordered him to be sent with clerks and troops, and ordered him to record the villages, every village by name, and they assessed them in this way. Then he ordered the shaykhs who were his representatives in the settlements to bring in from every village, great and small, two loads of millet grain. He allotted *kaymakams* over them, and ordered them to record the houses as superior, medium and inferior. This was abandoned. Then he ordered the recording of slaves and cattle, and they fixed the assessments to tax on that basis, which continued until the arrival of his Excellency Khūrshīd Bey, later Pasha.

Then in the year 1237 [1821-22] his Highness Ibrāhīm Pasha came from Cairo, and in it Ismā'īl Pasha proceeded to the hill-districts. As for Ibrāhīm Pasha, [89] he raided the Dinka, caused them such loss as God willed, and returned to Cairo. As for his Excellency, he blockaded Jabal Ṭābī, and proceeded to the country of Awlād Aḥmad. He took them, and proceeded with them to Fāzūghlī and Dār Ghubaysh. He captured the leading men, and summoned all the merchants who were there. He encamped among them and the village chiefs, and imposed a levy of gold on them. As for their teeth, he extracted their eye-teeth so that people might see his power and the strength of his might, as the Most High says, "When kings enter a village, they despoil it, and they make the greatest of its people the most abased, and thus they do."<sup>11</sup>

When he was in the hills, the herald of evil proclaimed the lying rumour that Ismā'īl Pasha had been killed in the south. The country was shaken, and the people rose up, while everyone with opposition in his heart emerged. Some of the people killed the troops, while others held back in expectation. Then it became clear that he was safe. The magnanimity of those who had done well by the troops became clear, while those who had acted otherwise long repented it. Nevertheless his Excellency suppressed his anger; he forgave in his clemency, and had regard to the prosperity of the country. He did not punish them for their lying rumours, but when he arrived, he put Walad 'Ujaylāwī<sup>12</sup> to death. Then he returned to Sinnār.

As regards the business of the *divan efendi* and the *mubāshir* Ḥannā; they organized the clerks and the *kaymakams* in the villages, and set

<sup>11</sup> Qur'ān: Sūrat al-Naml (The Ant); 27:34.

<sup>12</sup> Walad 'Ujaylāwī: MS. Nottingham, Walad 'Ajīb.

down the registers, by means of which they fixed the assessments as they saw fit.

When [Ismā'īl] took up his residence in Sinnār, it was a year of much sickness, which wrought havoc among the troops. So they asked for a base which would suit them, and found nowhere better than Walad Madanī. So they took the labourers, started to build, and busied themselves with it. The person in charge of the service of the revenue was Shaykh 'Adlān w. Shanbūl. In charge of the receipts in slaves and cattle brought in by [Ismā'īl] from the raids was Aḥmad w. al-Hājj Sulaymān. When the work of building was completed, [Ismā'īl] transferred his capital to Walad Madanī in Ramaḍān [May-June 1822] or the latter part of Sha'bān [mid-May] (God knows best), and he resided there.

There died in that year the judge Muḥammad Efendi, and al-Sayyid Aḥmad al-Baqlī was appointed judge; [90] the *muftī* at that time being al-Sayyid Aḥmad Efendi al-Salāwī. In Ramaḍān [Ismā'īl] appointed shaykhs of *khutts* to assist the *kaymakams*. The tax-registers were produced to him, and the subjects<sup>13</sup> complained of the burdensome assessment, for the owner of a donkey was assessed at five *riyāls* and likewise the owner of a sheep. He was seized with understanding pity<sup>14</sup> and Islamic mercy, so he overrode it, and made their assessment two *riyāls*, ordering them to make the quittance with the peasants with easiness, leniency and gentleness.

There died in that year the pious saint, the scholar, the *faqīh* Muḥammad w. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Zayd; and there died Shaykh 'Adlān w. Shanbūl (God's mercy be on them both).

As for [Ismā'īl], he invested the *divan efendi* as *kāhya*. He put Rajab w. 'Adlān to death in Sinnār, and 'Alī his brother in Walad Madanī, in a manner unaccustomed in the country. Shaykh Karrār died. Ḥasan w. Rajab fled after killing a number of the troops who were with him. The Ḥamada<sup>15</sup> nomads killed him; their chief was Diyāb Abū Ḥabs, and there were troops with him.

In the year 1238 [1822-3] [Ismā'īl] sent Muḥammad Aḡa al-Hayātnī to the *kāshifs* to investigate the cultivation and the waste,

<sup>13</sup> Subjects: *ra'īyya*, i.e. the civilian Sudanese as distinct from the Turco-Egyptian military and ruling elite.

<sup>14</sup> Pity: amending *rāqa* to *raffa*.

<sup>15</sup> Ḥamada: a sub-tribe of the Rufā'a in the Peninsula; cf. MacMichael, *Arabs*, I, 240-1.

and to check their accounts; and he remained with them until the end of the month.

Then [Ismā'īl] set out for Shandī in Ṣafar [Oct.–Nov. 1822]. When he arrived, he summoned the kings, and demanded an intolerable sum of money from them. They sought leave of him, and requested a delay until the morning. Then they went away from him, and conspired to kill him, being possessed by the devil and overwhelmed by the eternal decree. That was on the night of 17 Ṣafar 1238 [3 November 1822]. He disembarked, and they accommodated him in a house, and attacked him by night. His attendants prevented them from reaching him, so they got on the roof of the house, and set fire to it. So destiny was accomplished, and caution was useless. So were killed his deceased Excellency and the Mamluks with him, [91] who were in the house.<sup>16</sup>

His calamitous end brought destruction to many, and damage to a great number. The land rose in revolt, the people were convulsed, for from the day of his death there was nothing was seen but bloodshed, looting, destruction and rape. All that was because of the attack on the prince, and disobedience to the saying of the truthful Messenger, "Obey him who is in command over you, even if he be an Abyssinian slave." This damage and disorder continued until the arrival of Khūrshīd Bey, as we shall recount in detail (God willing) in the history of his coming.

As for the *kāhya*, who was the deputy at that time, and those with him; on ascertaining the fact of the killing of the Pasha, he put on a bold face, and took precautions. The country was in an uproar, and they sought to destroy the troops. The *kāshifs* fought the peasants. They assembled at Walad Madanī, and sent Muṣṭafā *Kāshif* Shama'dān<sup>17</sup> at the head of 300 cavalrymen. He set off for al-Khurṭūm, obtained intelligence of the situation, and returned without anyone being hurt.

As for the *Arbāb* Dafa'allāh w. Aḥmad, he left Walad Madanī on the night of the news,<sup>18</sup> and stopped at 'Abbūd. Likewise the sons of Shaykh Shanbūl in al-Masallamiyya rose against the troops who were with them. Yūsuf w. 'Abd al-Jabbār was killed, and the village

<sup>16</sup> For other accounts of this critical episode, see MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, 421, n. ccxvi; also MS. Nottingham (pp. 88–9 below); MS. Paris, (p. 122 below).

<sup>17</sup> Muṣṭafā *Kāshif* Shama'dān: for the correct form of the name, see p. 122 below.

<sup>18</sup> News: amending *khayr* to *khavar*.

fled. The *kāshif* remained there for three days, and withdrew to Walad Madanī. The *kāhya* sent an amnesty to all the villages except for those who rejected it, and were in open revolt. They themselves remained in Walad Madanī. Groups of peasants assembled at 'Abbūd and sought to achieve their desired aims. The devil seduced them; some of the *fuqarā'* misled them, and it was all according to God's will. They remained assembled there in communication with distant places. Thereupon the *kāhya* sent a column against them from Walad Madanī. It left by night, and was on them at the village by morning. They took to flight, and their multitude and numbers were of no avail. Of them were slain the pious saint, the *khalīfa* Muḥammad w. 'Abbūd and those whose time had come. The troops looted the village, and laid it waste, taking much property from it. They returned to Walad Madanī with their booty, rejoicing at victory.

[92] As for the rest of those who were put to flight; they made their way to the south, and got in touch with Ḥasan w. Rajab and others. He came to them, and they mustered again at Abū Shawka, thinking that it would be power to them.<sup>19</sup> Again Muṣṭafā *Kāshif* and the Shāyqiyya were sent out to them. They caught up with them thus, and there was a great mêlée. They fought there, and most of the Hamaj and those with them were killed, including Ḥasan w. Rajab. They dispersed, and the troops returned to Walad Madanī, rejoicing with their booty. Nevertheless they gave an amnesty to all who came in and submitted from all parts. The fire of war died down, and they dispersed northwards along the White Nile; and the troops mustered at Walad Madanī. Then the *kāhya* ordered Muṣṭafā *Kāshif* governor<sup>20</sup> of *qism* al-Khurṭūm, together with Ḥājī Ağa to go out, and settle the outstanding taxes, which had been abandoned in the troubles. So they went out at the head of 300 cavalymen for that settlement.

As for the Defterdar Bey, he was at al-Ubayyid. When he had obtained certain information, he moved out from Kordōfān, taking with him troops, the Fūr of Shaykh Muḥammad Lūtān and the Jima', and set out with them for al-Abwāb. When he passed by Dār al-Jamī'āb, he laid his hand upon it with slaughter and ruin. He laid waste those habitations, leaving no dweller or inhabitant in them.

<sup>19</sup> The sentence contains a play on the place-name Abū Shawka, literally "the father of power".

<sup>20</sup> See Appendix III (b).

When he reached the boundary of al-Matamma, the people gathered to him. Some of them asked for an amnesty, so he amnestied them. Then one of the company present attacked the Defterdar Bey with a spear, and struck him in his hand. He called for their destruction; so they put the sword among them, and very many were killed. Then they went into the *khakwa* with the *faqīh* al-Rayyah, and they burnt them all with fire. The land was laid waste, and Nimr and those with him made their way into the wilderness. Muḥammad Bey crossed over to the east [bank], and again laid his hand with ruin, so that no human being was to be seen nor whisper heard from the boundary of Shandī to Kutrānj.

[93] When he set out from those parts, he slew Tūtī; and he set out for al-‘Aylafūn, preceded by Fūr. They came out to fight them; and he himself arrived with them, and slew them with great slaughter. He took the property and children as booty, burnt the houses, and took prisoners as far as Walad Madanī. Some of them died of hunger and thirst on the way; and when they arrived at Walad Madanī, he distributed them among the shaykhs. He remained a little while at Walad Madanī; then he returned to Kordōfān, and ordered Ḥusayn *Çokadar Ağa* to proceed to the White Nile.

[Ḥusayn Ağa] set out, and when he stopped at the village of Walad al-Turābī, he attacked the Shukriyya. He struck them a heavy blow, and took camels and sheep from them. He continued his march, and stopped at al-Bashāqira, where he found Muṣṭafā *Kāshif* and Ḥājī Ağa, and he took them with him to the village of al-Jadīd. Then he continued his march to the White Nile by night. In the morning he stopped at the camp of the Ja‘aliyyūn, and fighting broke out. There were several casualties; and some of their chief men came, and asked for an amnesty. He granted it, and ordered their cattle to be returned on conditions which he imposed on them. At the time of the mid-day prayer there came a soldier whose brother had been killed in the time of his late Excellency. He demanded a certain person called the *faqīh* Faḍlallāh in vengeance for his brother because he was the cause of his killing. When the *Çokadar* heard this, he ordered accordingly. They did not find him, so he ordered everyone present to be detained, and they were 72 men. The hands of them all were cut off. Some of them died and some lived, and there were pious men among them. Then he continued his march thence along the White Nile to the south.

As for the Defterdar Bey, he set out for Kordofān. Then he set



out for al-Khurṭūm, and stopped at the Muqran.<sup>21</sup> The rest of the defeated Hamaj, Shaykh al-Amīn and others confronted him. Al-Buṣaylī crossed over against them, and they were routed towards the north. Then he sent Shāyqiyya and Maghāriba troops after them, who caught up with them by al-Rūyān, and they moved off. The *Çokadar* returned from al-Khurṭūm to Walad Madanī by the east [bank]. Those multitudes of the Shukriyya and others vanished before his face, and disappeared as [94] he advanced; and he arrived at Walad Madanī. Then [the Shukriyya and others] encamped at al-Hilāliyya, and the *kāhya* Muḥammad Saʿīd sent troops to them in boats. They reached them in the morning, and surprised them at the time of the morning prayer. Bakhīt Mudankas was killed, and the rest put to flight. They looted the village, and returned to Walad Madanī. That was in the year 1238 [1822-3].

In that year Muḥammad Bey Defterdar returned to the country of the Jaʿaliyyūn, where he stayed for some days. In the month of Shawwāl in that year [June-July 1823] he prepared an army, and sent it against the *Arbāb* Nimr and those who were with him at al-Naṣūb, which is an important and well-known place. Many were killed there, prisoners were taken, property was looted, and they were dispersed thence. Some went to the Peninsula, and absconded there; others sought the wilderness, and resigned themselves to it.<sup>22</sup> *Makk* al-Musāʿid and those with him proceeded southwards along the east [bank]. [The Defterdar] stationed himself at Umm ʿUrūq. He sent for al-Sayyid Aḥmad Efendi al-Salāwī, and took him with him, as also al-Ḥājī ʿAbd al-Rāziq Efendi. The *kāhya efendi* and all the troops of his late Excellency set out for Cairo.

As for [the Defterdar], he imprisoned all the captured men and women. A *zarība* was constructed; they were put in it, and water was led in to them by trenches. Some of them were sons of noble kings, others the offspring of eminent *imāms*; some of them died in prison, others were sent to Cairo.

Then in the year 1239 [1823-4] the Defterdar Bey set out, and over-took *Makk* al-Musāʿid between the Dindir and the Rahad at a place called Makdūr. He slew them in a great slaughter at that place, and captured men and women, whom he distributed in the Peninsula. Shaykh Ṣālih w. Bān al-Naqā was killed there, and their books and

<sup>21</sup> Muqran: the point of land at the junction of the Blue and White Niles.

<sup>22</sup> See Appendix III (c).

property were scattered and dispersed in the Peninsula.<sup>23</sup> In those days there was much taking of captives and slaughter in the country. Muḥammad Bey stationed himself [95] at Umm 'Urūq and the deputy in the Peninsula was Hoḥa Aḥmad. In that year Muḥammad Bey raided up to Sabdarāt, and sent the captives, both slaves and free-born, to Cairo.

In this year there was arrested the scholar, the *faqīh* Ibrāhīm 'Īsā. He was beaten, and this was because of a company from the borders of the sultanate—may God reward him well. He was like his excellent predecessors. They took him, and left him in Abū Ḥarāz. He bore with patience the afflictions God sent him, and remained unshaken.

In this year there died excellent *imāms*, amongst them the pious saint, the excellent scholar, the *faqīh* Abū Idrīs Yaḥyā Baṣalābī (God's mercy on him), who combined the *Ḥaqīqa* and the Shari'a, a man of chastity, religion, modesty and intelligence. He had *mukāshafāt*, which he used to interpret visions. He was full of laughter and smiles, and he would start his conversation with "Praise the Lord!" Someone trustworthy told me that when he lost his sight, and was asked the reason, he said, "An envious one snatched it away, and God will restore it to me." He lost his sight in the year 1219 [1804–5], and in the year 1237 [1821–22] he saw clearly enough to read books with praise to God Most High.

There died in it also the head of the *ṭarīqa* who combined the Shari'a and the *Ḥaqīqa*, the guide of the seekers, Shaykh Aḥmad b. al-Ṭayyib. He was a man of many *karamāt* and instructive guidance. The scholar, the *faqīh* Ibrāhīm 'Abd al-Dāfi spoke these verses of him:—

[23 verses follow.]

[96] In it [the Defterdar] sent all the slaves he had taken in taxation. And in it they prepared themselves to go down to Cairo after news had come to them of 'Uthmānī Bey and his setting out.

[MS. Nottingham, pp. 105–9]

Then his Excellency [Ismā'il Pasha] proceeded to Shandī in the month of Ṣafar al-Khayr (Oct.–Nov. 1822). When he reached that town, he summoned the kings, King Nimr the king of Shandī, and King al-Musā'id the king of al-Matamma. He demanded money of them, which they were unable to pay. So they sought

<sup>23</sup> See Appendix III (d).

leave, and requested of him a delay until the morning. Then they went away from him, and conspired to kill him on that night. The devil overcame them, and the eternal decree overwhelmed them. That was in the night of the 17th of that month and year [3 November 1822]. When they saw the ships in the river and troops in them, they asked him to go with them to the town while the troops remained in the ships, lest the townspeople, seeing the troops, should take flight, and it would be hard for them to pay what was asked. So it was that his Excellency went with them to the town with the Mamluks in his service and a few servants.

When they entered the town, he stayed in a house which they had prepared for him. They proceeded to demand a vast amount of firewood from the townspeople and others. When his Excellency saw the great quantity of firewood, he said to them, "What's that for?" They said to him, "Tomorrow morning the troops will come and ask us for firewood. It's to be there beforehand, otherwise we shall be in trouble." They brought him food. They ate and drank, and his Excellency slept in the house with his Mamluks and servants as usual. The two kings were watchful over his guard both without and within, intending to end his life by fire. For at midnight, when the firewood was complete, they scattered it around the house on every side, and set fire to it. It was a great conflagration, and the fire almost devoured not only that house but the whole town. When his Excellency saw that, he put up a prayer to God, and ended his life with all that was with him. So the two kings remained victorious. In the morning they advanced on the troops who were on the river and on the land, and killed them; they only were saved who were to survive.

At this time Muḥammad Bey Defterdar was in the west, in Kordofān. News reached him of the death of Ismā'īl Pasha at the hands of the two kings. He mustered all his troops at once, and set out for al-Matamma. Four days' journey before he reached that town, he ordered the troops to burn and slay all the inhabitants that they found. When he drew near to it, he sent to the remainder of the late Ismā'īl Pasha's troops. He also sent to Muḥyī Bey,<sup>24</sup> the governor of Barbar, to come with his troops; and he sent to King Shāwīsh, the king of the Shāyqiyya. In his company was Walad Qanjī Bey. For riding animals the king had a thousand

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<sup>24</sup> Muḥyī Bey: alias Maḥū Bey.

steeds. [Walad] Qanjī Bey and Aḥmad Bey were also accompanied by troops which were in Walad Madanī. These troops mustered at once from all sides.

When King Nimr and King al-Musā'id heard of the coming of the troops, and what they would do when they arrived, King Nimr took all his sons and womenfolk and followers, and made for the wilderness, to a mountain called Jabal al-Naṣūb. When the Defterdar Bey reached al-Matamma, and all the troops had mustered from every side, he ordered King Shāwīsh, the king of the Shāyqiyya, to proceed with his troops together with Walad Qanjī Bey and Aḥmad Bey, in search of King Nimr. When they reached him, they fought together, and of the company of King Nimr there were killed at that time 48 persons with his brother Aḥmad and the son of King al-Musā'id. He was routed with his sons, and the divinely aided army took his possessions and all else as booty, even his womenfolk. They returned to Muḥammad Bey Defterdar, informed him of what had happened, and handed over all the prisoners they had brought.

His Excellency assembled all the Ja'aliyyūn they had rounded up, men, girls, boys and everyone connected with those two kings. He constructed a timber *zarība* in a village called Umm 'Urūq, west of al-Matamma, in which he collected all those prisoners, and delivered them to the fire; they were about 4,000 persons. He said, "These are not enough for the crime against my lord Ismā'il Pasha", and he wept for him. After he had recovered, he again ordered the troops to capture all whom they found of the tribe of the Ja'aliyyūn. They captured a great number of men, women, boys and girls; and he sent them to his Highness the *wālī* of Egypt. He informed him of what had happened, and that up to the time of writing he was striving to capture all those people of the two kings and themselves as well. Further, that he had attacked the town of al-Matamma, and had burnt it with all that was in it. There was in it an old holy man called Aḥmad al-Rayyāḥ, who had about 10,000 [persons] with him. These all died in the fire in expiation for the deceased.

His Excellency was not content with this but mustered all the troops, and advanced southwards in pursuit of King al-Musā'id. The people of Tūtī Island, east of al-Khurṭūm, resisted, and started to fight him. He overcame them, killed about 600 of them, and burnt the village. Then he proceeded upstream to the village of al-'Aylafūn. Its people also resisted, and fought him. He killed

about 1,500 persons, and proceeded upstream after that king. When he reached the village of Makjūr, there was the diminished king, King al-Musā'id, together with all the magnates of the kings of Sinnār, i.e. Shaykh Idrīs w. 'Adlān, the *Arbāb* Dafa'allāh, and all the Jamū'iyya and the Ja'aliyyūn who were with him. Severe fighting broke out between them. King al-Musā'id was killed with a great number, and his son Muḥammad was captured. Shaykh Idrīs w. 'Adlān and the *Arbāb* Dafa'allāh fled. An amnesty was sent them on condition that they remained as they were previously.

[The Defterdar] mustered his troops, and said, "Not yet is the crime against my late lord Ismā'il Pasha fully avenged." He set out thence, and proceeded towards al-Tāqa in Jabal Sabdarāb, seeking King Nimr. When he reached that mountain, he found him whom he sought there, for King Nimr had made his home there, and troops from those districts had gathered to him. Every fugitive had come to him, and was received. When the troops encountered one another, fighting broke out between them. His Excellency the Defterdar sought to make King Nimr a prisoner of war. There was severe fighting, and about a hundred of the Defterdar's troops were killed, also Walad Qanjī Bey and Aḥmad Bey. After the victory of Muḥammad Bey the Defterdar and the surrender of the mountain, King Nimr fled in the direction of the Abyssinians, he and his sons alone. Those who were with him were killed or taken prisoner.

His Excellency returned to Cairo the divinely guarded. In his place there remained the *divan efendi*, the *kāhya* of the deceased [Ismā'il Pasha]. That was after [the Defterdar] heard of the coming of 'Uthmān Bey.<sup>25</sup> He died in Cairo in the year 1246 [1830–31].

Then in the year 1240 [1824–5] 'Uthmān Bey came from Cairo accompanied by troops from the *jihādīyya*, and this was their first entry into the Peninsula.<sup>26</sup> His *wakīl* was 'Uthmān Aḡa al-Nāzir, and his *mubāshir* was the *mu'allim* [97] Mikhā'il Abū 'Ubayd. The Defterdar set out from Dār al-Ja'aliyyīn, and Hoca Aḥmad and those with him set out from the Peninsula.

<sup>25</sup> 'Uthmān Bey: see Hill, *Biographical dictionary*, 369; id. *Egypt in the Sudan*, 18–21. Al-Birinjī, which is sometimes added to his name, arises from his army rank; he was colonel of the First (T. *Birina*) Regiment.

<sup>26</sup> See Appendix III (c).



‘Uthmān Bey’s arrival was in the month of Ṣafar [Sept.–Oct. 1824]. He stayed some days in Umm Durmān; then he crossed over, and took up residence in al-Khurṭūm.<sup>27</sup> They were expecting his coming to Walad Madanī, and prepared receptions for him at certain houses. He remained in al-Khurṭūm, and there the shaykhs and all the employees met him. Shaykh Shanbūl took precedence in meeting him. He honoured him, and invested him over all the country from Ḥajar al-‘Asal to the southern marches. Then Shaykh ‘Abdallāh w. ‘Umar came in to him, and he put him to death by the cannon.

He proceeded to Walad Madanī; and he ordered ‘Uthmān Ağa al-Nāzir to put the *faqīh* Arbāb w. al-Kāmil to death, and he was put to death by the cannon. As for [‘Uthmān Bey], he took up residence at Walad Madanī. In [this year] he troubled the country, and it brought hardship upon the people. They distributed the assessment to tax upon them. The warrant<sup>28</sup> went out, and distress increased. They surrounded the villages, and levied the assessment. The customs-duty<sup>29</sup> made its appearance. There appeared in [this year] a great dearth and an epidemic of smallpox, which spread through the land east and west. The people fled to al-Qaṭārif. Ibrāhīm Efendi overtook them, and slew them with great slaughter. When many of them had been killed, they sought an amnesty. Then they proceeded to round them up in groups, and kill them. In those days the people were scattered from the country.

Then [‘Uthmān Bey] fell ill. Sometimes he was on the river, sometimes in a tent, until they built him a residence. He died in the month of Ramaḍān [April–May 1825] (God’s mercy be on him). The matter was concealed from the troops and the peasants, and ‘Uthmān Ağa took over the affairs of the *jihādiyya*. Maḥū Bey came to them from Barbar, and stopped on the east [bank] at Ḥillat Ḥamad, where he stayed for some days.<sup>30</sup> Then he returned to Barbar. He came back with all his troops, and took up residence in al-Khurṭūm. That was in the year 1241 [1825–6].

In this period he suspended the tax-assessment on the people. He proceeded to al-Qaṭārif, and opened the way to the Muslims to go

<sup>27</sup> See Appendix III (f).

<sup>28</sup> Warrant: *hawāla*.

<sup>29</sup> Customs-duty: *jumruk* from T. *gümruk*.

<sup>30</sup> See Appendix III (g).

for grain, and they set forth. He restrained the *jihādīyya* troops [98] from the deeds they were committing, and the people had rest in his days until their wellbeing was completed in the time of his Excellency Khūrshīd Bey. Then Maḥū Bey resided in al-Qaṭārif, and the peasants journeyed to him. They were distressed and wearied, and he relieved their anxiety, and delivered them from striving and weariness. His conduct towards the people was satisfactory, but around him was a company of *bayraqīyya*, who disobeyed his command, and acted as they would. They descended on the *qubba* of Shaykh Khōjalī on the east [bank], and reduced it and those around it to ruin more quickly than a flash of lightning.

In his time the excellent and eminent *faqīh* Ibrāhīm ‘Abd al-Dāfi’ was appointed judge; and there died in it some venerable and excellent scholars, righteous and God-fearing.

[MS. Nottingham, pp. 111–14]

And they were the sons of Shaykh Muḥammad Dayfallāh and the *faqīh* Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Laṭīf, the chief jurist of the people of his time. The *faqīh* Dayfallāh was his brother. He was also learned and proficient, for he taught the grammar of the *faqīh* Muḥammad Ṣubr, the *faqīh* Ibn Mālīk, and the *faqīh* al-Suyūṭī. He was learned in the sciences of language, of metaphors and rhetoric, of jurisprudence, of Ḥadīth, of exegesis [of the Qur’ān], of *tawḥīd*, of *tajwīd*, of logic, of the bases of jurisprudence, and of astronomy. He studies all these disciplines under his shaykh, Ibn Barrī, for the sake of obtaining *baraka*. For he learnt from Shaykh Muḥammad Ṣubr; and after his return from Sinnār to his people in al-Ḥalfāya he studied *al-Mukhtaṣar* under his father, learnt the science of inheritance, and began [the study of] religious gifts under his father. He was an authority in all these disciplines. His shaykh, Ibn Ṣubr, licensed him to teach Ibn Hishām. He told his beads [?] with devotion and piety. There was found his written statement that the maternal uncles of the daughter of Shaykh Muḥammad b. Ṣubr, gave him the daughter of our shaykh in marriage, “and our paternal cousins treated us with great hostility until he said that I had done good repeatedly, even sixty times seven, acting in accordance with the saying of the Prophet that he will certainly answer him who repeats the good deed seven times.” [?]

One of his *karāmāt* was that he said, “One day I asked of God Most High concerning this world, and I saw a writing on the sun.

I raised my head and read it: 'Say; the death from which ye flee will come to meet you.'

One of his *karāmāt* also was that one day he came to the river to bathe. He took off his robe, put it on the cave, and entered the river. An *'akhlī*, i.e. a thief, came, took the robe, and ran away with it while he was in the river. He was very angry with the man who had taken his robe. The man cried out, and fell down in a faint. He started to say, "The fire has consumed me!", and sometimes, "The *faqīh* has come for me!" He remained in this state until he died, and no-one could cure him. Then the *faqīh* said, "By God! If he had only left the robe at once, he would have passed away directly."

Another [*karāma*] was that he said, "Shandī must needs be destroyed." And it was so.

He said that Ismā'īl Pasha must needs be killed in the Sūdān. He said that at the time of [Ismā'īl's] coming, and the matter fell out as he said.

Once he said to Aḥmad w. Ramlī who was eulogizing the Turks, which displeased the *faqīh*—he said to him, "You eulogize them, and they will kill you, and your end will come shortly at their hands." And it was so.

Again, one day he was sitting after his prayers, and the war-band was going to Awlād al-Amīn. Shaykh 'Abdallāh w. 'Ajīb came to al-Jadīd, seeking to fight them in al-Ḥalfāya. The *faqīh* Dayf[allāh] called 'Abdallāh, "Listen, 'Abd[allāh], to the sincere adviser. Sound the cry!" 'Abdallāh said to him, "Shall I be victorious?" He said to him, "Thou hast said it." So they fought together, and 'Abdallāh was victorious.

One day he went to the *sāqiya* in the winter-time, and the corn was dry. Khōjalī w. Idrīs saw him, and caught up with him. The *faqīh* said to him, "Khōjalī w. Idrīs!" He answered him, "My lord?" He said to him, "Next year the river will burst its banks. He struck the ground with his staff, and said to him, "As far as this!" When it was the time of the river-flood, and the flood came, Khōjalī went to that place which the *faqīh* had demarcated with his staff; and he found that the river had reached the limit, and had not passed it by a single drop.

Again, one day a Turk came to him, when he was sitting outside in a place with his rosary in his hand. When the man came to him while he was sitting, he said, "Where is the *faqīh*?", and he did not see him. Those present said, "We haven't seen the

*faqīh*." So he to go round him, while the *faqīh* was sitting in his place. He did not see him, and went away.

One day they asked him, saying, "Our lord, by whom were you initiated?" He said, "I was initiated by Shaykh Ḥāmid w. Abū [sic] Mūta, and he was a pious and famous saint. He gave me three *awrād*, the greater, the medium and the lesser. The greater *wird* is seventy thousand, and it is wisdom. The medium *wird* is fifty thousand, and the lesser is twenty thousand. I left that in the state of two readings [of the Qur'ān] with exoteric knowledge; then after completion I made an end."

The *faqīh* Ibrāhīm 'Abd al-Dāfi' celebrated them in a fine elegy—may God cause us to profit by them: Amen.

[39 verses follow.]

[100] May God have mercy upon them all, and cause us to profit by them. He mentioned them by name, and we have made an abridgement for fear of tedium. Amongst them were the *khalīfa* of Shaykh Khōjalī, i.e. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Nūr, the *faqīh* al-Sayyid w. Ḥammād, Shaykh Idrīs w. Dafa'allāh, the *faqīh* Muḥammad Zarrūq and others. May God cause us to profit by their *baraka*.

As for Maḥū Bey, he returned from al Qaṭārīf, and kept the fast of Ramaḍān [9 April–8 May 1826] in al-Khurṭūm. The dearth continued upon the community in those days. His *wakīl* was Khalīl Aḡa, his personal treasurer. The news of his recall reached him—praise be to the great Ruler of the kingdom.

[101] The account of the coming of the victorious and divinely assisted Sword of the State of the Dynasty of 'Uthmān; the bringer of prosperity to the Funj territories, God's favour to the subjects, his Excellency Khūrshīd Bey; the account of his campaigns, of the events which happened in his time, the ease to the Muslims, and the eminent men who died in it. We shall give an account of it (God willing) according to our understanding.

His first coming was in the last part of the year 1241, at the end of Shawwāl [6 June 1826], and with him was the seedling of his kindness, Yūsuf Aḡa his treasurer. With him also were the two brilliant moons, al-Sayyid Aḥmad Efendi al-Salāwī, the judge of the land of the Sūdān, and al-Sayyid Muḥammad Efendi al-Bulaydī the *muftī*, who were both of extensive knowledge in the main sciences.

When [Khūrshīd Bey] came, he stopped at Umm Durmān; and before he arrived, Maḥū Bey went out to meet him, and received

him on the west bank. They stayed there for some days, and the shaykhs and peasants were at his reception. He received them with glad tidings, greetings, a cheerful face and an amnesty. He released from prison all the hostages who had been detained from the time of the late 'Uthmān Bey. The first outcome of his praiseworthy qualities was that he ordered all the shaykhs to record their current cultivation, because he found that the country was utterly gone to ruin because of the dearth and so forth. If God had not graciously bestowed him upon us, the land would have become like the habitations of Thamūd and 'Ād.<sup>31</sup> He ordered that letters should be sent to all the fugitives to return home. In his correspondence he mentioned that there was complete ease and cultivation; "and do not reckon us like our predecessors. We have come solely to bring you prosperity in this world and the world to come." This he did by the grace of God Most High. In his time mosques which had been obliterated were rebuilt; he revived the Sharī'a, and established its foundation. All his commandments and judgments were according to the Holy Law. To the peasant he was as a father—nay, more compassionate and kinder. He wrote thus to the people of the country before he entered al-Khurtūm, and that was because of his compassion for the subjects, and pity for the Muhammadan community. May God reward him well.

[102] There died in that year *Shaykh al-Islām*, the scholar, the doer of good works, the guide of the seekers, the reviver of the Sharī'a of the Lord of the Apostles, he who spent himself in obedience to God and the betterment of the Muslims, the *faqīh* Aḥmad b. 'Isā. This was at the end of the year, in the month of Ḥijja [July–August 1826]. God's mercy be on him: Amen. He had many virtues and renowned merits; sufficient be it to mention his devotion to scholarship and his patience under injury, which was the most sublime of his noble virtues. He had *mukāshafāt*, which he would tell like tales. He was celebrated by outstanding *imāms*, including the elegy of al-Sayyid Aḥmad Efendi al-Salāwī, the judge of the land of the Sūdān, which he recited after an oration which would have opened the ears of the deaf.

[15 verses follow.]

<sup>31</sup> Thamūd and 'Ād: Arab tribes mentioned in the Qur'ān: Sūrat al-A'rāf; 7:65–79, as having been overthrown after warnings brought by the prophets Hūd and Šālīḥ.



[103] He (God keep and preserve him) said after a long oration, "The people are exemplary in offering consolation for him; but let no-one offer consolation for him, for he has not died. He has only been removed from a transient to an eternal home, to Paradise, which is as wide as the heavens and the earth, the everlasting home. He has left a lion from his loins, and lions from his spirit. May God set him in Paradise the blest, and bestow on him his excellent favours for the honour of the Elect Son of 'Adnān."<sup>32</sup>

[2 verses follow.]

He was also celebrated by his disciple and spiritual son, the *faqīh* Ibrāhīm 'Abd al-Dāfi', the deputy judge, in his elegy, saying:—

[32 verses follow.]

[104] He was also celebrated by his disciple, the *faqīh* Ṣiddīq, saying:—

[31 verses follow.]

[106] His *karāmāt* were famous; his scholarship was widely respected in all the legal schools, the disciplines, and the branches and principles of the law. May God profit us by him.

He was succeeded by his son Ibrāhīm, an excellent member of his line—may God grant success to us and to him. He took his seat for teaching, a man of worthy character and a soul devoid of arrogance.

As for [Khūrshīd Bey]; when he took up residence in al-Khurṭūm, the heavens in that year brought rain generally, the trees bore fruit, and the cattle brought forth. All this was by the *baraka* of the newly arrived commander himself, and it was in the year 1242 [1826–7]. Then he made a raid on the White Nile, took some booty, and returned in safety. When the rains were plentiful, and the people were attending to cultivation in the country, a disturbance occurred, so he appointed as *wakīl* the seedling of his kindness, Yūsuf Ağa the treasurer. He himself set off for Dār al-Abwāb, where he arrested Shaykh Bashīr w. 'Aqīd,<sup>33</sup> and they liberated the peasants despite

<sup>32</sup> The Elect Son of 'Adnān: the Prophet Muḥammad.

<sup>33</sup> Shaykh Bashīr w. 'Aqīd: Bashīr w. Aḥmad 'Aqīd is described in MS. Nottingham as "the king of the Ja'aliyyūn." MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, 442, n. cccxix, says that he was one of the Mīrafāb of Barbar, i.e. he did not belong to the Sa'dāb, the ruling clan of the Ja'aliyyūn. Shubayka, *Tārīkh*, Notes, 28/1 (p. 23), states that he was appointed ruler of the Ja'aliyyūn by the Defterdar or 'Uthmān Bey. The archives state that Khūrshīd seized his possessions on the grounds that he had unlawfully expropriated the tribesmen. Attempting to leave for Egypt, Bashīr was detained by Khūrshīd with the assistance of the *ma'mūr* of Dunqula. Muḥammad 'Alī Pasha

him [?] He remained there until the season of sickness was over. Then he returned to al-Khurṭūm, and led a raid against Walad al-‘Ajaba, opposite Sīrū, and returned in safety. Then he assembled the shaykhs, and investigated the assessment which was previously on cattle. This was lacking and destroyed, so he reached the sound administrative decision to base it on the area cultivated. He did so, and had mercy on them.

There joined him in this year at Barbar Shaykh Idrīs ‘Adlān and Shaykh ‘Abd al-Qādir, the son of Shaykh al-Zayn. He received them honourably, and granted them an amnesty. Since the time of the late Ismā‘īl Pasha, Idrīs had not appeared before anyone in authority; so when he appeared before him, he granted him an amnesty, and settled [107] his residence in the Funj Hills, so he resided there.

Then in the year 1243 [1827–8] [Khūrshīd Bey] led a raid against the Dinka. There died in it Mūsā *Kāshif* the *mu‘āwin* at Maqja in the hills of the south. There died in [the year] our brother al-Ṣiddīq (God’s mercy be on him).

There took place in [this year] the incident of Shaykh Khalīfa at Barbar, in which he was killed (God’s mercy be on him). He was powerful and honoured, and God gave force to his authority. There occurred a certain dispute between Shaykh Khalīfa and the troops, and they sent to inform his Excellency Khūrshīd Pasha about it. He set out to them with boats full of *jihādiyya* troops, and found that Khalīfa had been killed. So he granted an amnesty to his brother Shaykh Baraka, and put him in charge of his brother’s functions.

The sun was eclipsed in [this year] at the time of the forenoon prayer, and the day was darkened. The people in their confusion did not understand but except for a few wandered about like a flood.

There died in [this year] Ḥasan *Kāshif*, the governor of *qism al-Khurṭūm*, and ‘Uthmān Aḡa al-Nāzir was invested as *kāshif*.

At the beginning of the year 1244 [1828–9] [Khūrshīd] led a raid to Fāzūghlī. He killed some people from the hills of Abū Ramla, and the dread of him entered the hearts of the people, the inhabitants of al-‘Aṭīsh and all the fugitives. The people came in gradually. In [this year] he reassured all the *marātib* and peasants who

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thereupon sent a special commissioner to investigate the matter, and limited Khūrshīd’s jurisdiction to Sinnār. Bashīr’s sons were later brought to Egypt to study agriculture, and were the object of Muḥammad ‘Alī Pasha’s special interest.

came to him. He used not to take tax from anyone who came to him in this year.

[MS. Nottingham, p. 121]

And in [the year] God bestowed upon us the blessed son Muḥammad 'Alī at the end of the month of Rajab [5 February 1829].

The people worked at cultivation in this time.

Peasants from all parts of the north and Dār al-Ja'aliyyūn gradually came in to him, desiring the shadow of his amnesty. In that period his deputy was Ibrāhīm Efendi.

In that year 'Abd al-Latīf was killed at the *qubba* of Shaykh Khōjalī. He was a man well-known for his excellence. He was killed by his slave-girl, who kept the matter dark. The *wakīl* heard of it, so he sent for all Awlād Khōjalī, put them in irons, and beat some of them. Then he handed them over to Ḥasan *Kāshif*, the governor of the White Nile. They threatened to put them to death, and Shaykh Ibrāhīm 'Abd al-Dāfi' composed a plea calling in aid Shaykh Khōjalī and all the pious men:—

[38 verses follow.]

[109] Their combined *baraka* took effect. God caused the slave-girl to speak, and she admitted the killing of her master. She was accordingly put to death, and God delivered the offspring of Shaykh Khōjalī by the *baraka* of their father—may God profit us by him and by all the saints mentioned [in the poem] and unmentioned.

When God put the dread and desire of [Khūrshīd] in their minds, the people came in to him submissively from all parts, east and west. He continued to encounter them with good tidings, robes of honour for those who deserved them, and ease as he had promised them.

Then in the year 1245 [1829–30] there occurred [110] a high Nile the like of which had not been seen, and the land was almost drowned. In [this year] the support, the pious saint, the shaykh of the *ṭarīqa* and the *Ḥaqīqa*, Shaykh Aḥmad al-Rayyāh,<sup>34</sup> came from the south. High and low rejoiced at his coming. The Pasha gave him the highest honour, and invested him with a magnificent robe from the state treasury. He ordered him to return to Dār al-'Aṭīsh, to inform the fugitives there that all who submitted would be amnestied.

<sup>34</sup> MS. Nottingham adds: b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf.

Then [Khūrshīd] set out for al-‘Aṭīsh, and God cast dismay into their hearts, and they did not fight him. He entered the region, and annested those whom he found. With him were Rajab w. Bashīr and Zaqaṇ [?]. As for those who disobeyed and fled, he sent troops after them, who caught up with them. ‘Alī w. Ṭāhā was killed, and the rest returned under amnesty. His Excellency stayed there, and sent off all the fugitives accompanied by Shaykh Aḥmad al-Rayyaḥ and the Maghāriba. Their number at that time, old and young, free and slaves, was more than 12,000. Dread of him entered the hearts of the tribes, Shaykh Muḥammad Mīrī,<sup>35</sup> the people of Qubā and others. The *faqīh* ‘Alī, the son of the *faqīh* Aḥmad Baqādī, praised him in these words:—

[6 verses follow.]

Mīrī rendered obedience, and the Abyssinians submitted; the Shukriyya yielded, and the subjects wished for cultivation. All the people were reduced to obedience, and no fugitive was left there save those who died in the districts of the south.

In [this year] the *mu‘allim* Mikhā’il Abū ‘Ubayd the *mubāshir* was removed from office, and in it Bishāra ‘Abd al-Sayyid was promoted *mubāshir* but the matter did not go through.

Then in the year 1246 [1830–1] [Khūrshīd] led in person a raid on the Shilluk of the White Nile. [111] He slew them with great slaughter, such as they had heard of previously only in the battle of Makk Bādī w. Rubāt.<sup>36</sup>

In [this year] the *mu‘allim* Mikhā’il travelled to Cairo after his removal from office. The *mu‘allim* Bishāra was arrested, and sent to al-Lūmān at al-Manjara.<sup>37</sup> In that time the *wakīl* to the Divan was the *mu‘allim* ‘Awad. And in it God favoured us with the arrival of the son of the best and most favoured ones, Shaykh ‘Abd al-Rāziq from Abū Ḥamad in the north. He wrote books for us, and was the master of beautiful calligraphy. And in it there died the pious saint, the doer of good works, the man of letters, the *faqīh* ‘Abd al-Qādir Dayfallāh, and he was buried in al-Khurṭūm (God’s mercy be on him). He was learned in *tauhīd* and poetic metres, and was one of the early disciples of the *faqīh* ‘Alī Baqādī (God’s mercy be on them all).

<sup>35</sup> Shaykh Muḥammad al-Mīrī: the shaykh of al-Qallābāt (Shubayka, *Ta’rikh*, Text, 29).

<sup>36</sup> See p. 8 above.

<sup>37</sup> Al-Manjara: the site of a dockyard established by Khūrshīd Pasha at the Muqran (cf. p. 87, n. 21). Al-Lūmān probably represents T. *lūman*, “harbour”.

Then in the year 1247 [1831-2] [Khūrshīd] raided Sabdarāt, and blockaded the Arabs until grief and exhaustion succeeded slaying and devastation. They asked him for an amnesty, which he granted them, and they were reduced to submission to his Excellency. All their tribes submitted to him, and became tax-payers like the peasants. This was a special favour of God to him, received by no-one else. All difficulties were made easy for him, and every neck became subject to his yoke. He spent himself in the service of his Highness, and achieved every desire and benefit.

In [this year] there was a great earthquake on a Friday at the time of the forenoon prayer. At that hour we were sitting with Shaykh 'Abd al-Rāziq for the writing of *al-Shamā'il*. We heard the people talking about it, and one who was sitting with us told us that he heard and felt it until the earth quaked beneath him and the mosque buildings. He is a trustworthy and truthful person.

In [this year] there died the excellent saint of God, the paragon who combined the *Ḥaqīqa* and the *Sharī'a*, the worker of manifest *karāmāt*, splendid of sanctity, of whom it is said:—

"Were the age to say, 'Truly his like will come!'

You would break your oath, O age, and it would be untrue."

This was Muḥammad al-Majdhūb b. Qamar al-Dīn, the offspring of Shaykh Aḥmad Abū Diqin—may God Most High profit us by him. He was a companion of al-Sayyid Muḥammad 'Uthmān. Then he went to Medina the Illuminated (upon him who lies there the best of blessings and peace), and he stayed there awhile. He transferred from the Khatmiyya *ṭarīqa* to the Shādhiliyya *ṭarīqa*, which was the *ṭarīqa* of his ancestors.

[MS. Nottingham, p. 126]

There occurred the great revelation of the *ḥaqīqa* without conjecture. His shaykh who led him by [divine] permission was Sayyidī Ibrāhīm al-Suwaydī. Then he came [?] to Shaykh Muḥammad Majdhūb and likewise Shaykh Amīn, all of whom came to God Most High. Al-Suwaydī said to Sayyidī Muḥammad Majdhūb, "Found your system on Sayyid Aḥmad b. Idrīs, for there is no-one like him in this age." So he founded his system on the said Aḥmad.

Someone who heard this from him informed me that his transfer was by permission of the Elect One (peace be on him).

He had manifest *karāmāt*, [112] which were witnessed by many of his townspeople when he was at al-Dāmar. He informed everyone



who came to him about what they wished, and he made visible tombs which had been obliterated before the time of their forefathers. Someone who was there at that tomb told me that he fed them with sugar from it, and everyone there ate of it. Likewise when he came to Barbar, he asked about the tomb of Shaykh al-Miṣrī.<sup>38</sup> He had not seen it; and when he drew near, he slipped away from the people, and went on until he stood over it. Another [*karāma* was] that one day he was in a *ḥāla* of praise. The *ḥāla* came upon him and there was a cup of coffee in his hand. He threw it in the air, and full as it was, it fell, not spilling a drop on the ground until he came to and drank it.

There is a well-known anecdote about him that on a very hot summer day the people gathered to him for the noon prayer, and were unable to stand upright. As soon as he came out, it clouded over and turned cool for them; and they prayed behind him. I do not give the story properly because of my ignorance of it, yet that I may obtain *baraka* by their virtues. When he crossed over to the Ghubush *fuqarā'* on the west [bank] as a pilgrim, and the time of prayer came, they set him in front for it, and the prayer began. He wished [to utter the *takbīr*] *al-ihṛām*. He turned round, called al-Ḥājī Ḥamad al-Ma'mūn, and said to him, "A breath has come to you. Take heed of it!" And they say that both of them fell sick in that hour. His writings bear witness to his eminence; they include *Sharḥ al-Shamā'il* etc.

In the year 1248 [1832-33] his Excellency proceeded to Kordofān in the month of al-Hijja [April-May.1833], and returned shortly afterwards.

[MS. Nottingham, p. 127]

In the year 1248 there died my late brother 'Umar in the month of Ṣafar [July 1832]; and God bestowed upon us the blessed son Muḥammad 'Uthmān in the month of Sha'ban [Dec. 1832-Jan. 1833].

In [this year] al-Sayyid Aḥmad Efendī, the judge of the land of the Sūdān, was taken into his Excellency's inmost circle with every privilege and approval. In the Divan the Sayyid obtained benefits for high and low, shaykhs, peasants and holders of authority. He

<sup>38</sup> Shaykh al-Miṣrī: Muḥammad b. Qaram; cf. p. 5, n. 16.

became one of the special members of the Divan. By his word he raised up many religious households, and gave comfort to many Muslims. He was noble and generous, open-handed, munificent and sincere, desiring and believing in the families of religious households. He never maliciously opposed anyone in the Divan, and it may be that he was near to satisfaction when he became angry. He wrote a lengthy and excellent commentary on the Forty [Ḥadīths] of the Prophet,<sup>39</sup> and abridged the text of *al-Ṭarīqa al-Muḥammadiyya*, all of which are profitable to us. He brought many books with him; and God knows best.

In this year and subsequently the Shari'a court was held by the *faqīh* [113] Ibrāhīm 'Abd al-Dāfi' and al-Sayyid Muḥammad Efendi the *mufī*, who performed excellently there, perfecting what was unknown and subtle in its business—may God cause us all to know what He loves and approves for the honour of His Prophet and Mediator.

Then in the year 1249 [1833-4] the order came from his Highness to [Khūrshīd] appointing him *mirlwa*, and in it came also the good news of his appointment as *mudīr*.<sup>40</sup> In [this year] he made a great and joyful entertainment for his sons, the like of which had never been heard of. From the last part of the month of al-Ḥijja [May 1834] tables were spread and food was offered lavishly. He sent to all the *kāshifs* and shaykhs in the *qisms*, and set before them these sumptuous tables and splendid foods until the beginning of Muḥarram of that year [? 1250/10 May 1834]. All absent in the distant north and south presented themselves. Then he set out the great banquet, and spread the generous tables. He assembled everyone, freemen and slaves, except those who were not there in that hour. He provided them with two repasts, inside the residence and at its gate. Everyone assembled by land and by river. They ate, and they left the whole amount of food as it was. Then he ordered them to take it; so they took some, and left it as it was. His noble nature is shown by his personal service on that day, and his attendance on all who were at the feast.

<sup>39</sup> Forty [Ḥadīths] of the Prophet: one of the numerous collections of forty Traditions of the Prophet.

<sup>40</sup> The order was dated 15 Shawwāl 1249/25 Feb. 1834; Shubayka, *Ta'rikh*, Notes, 30/1 (p. 24).

In [this year] there was an eclipse of the moon on the night of mid-Sha'bān [28 December 1833], and the stars came out gradually until nearly sunrise. There was a murrain among the cattle. And in it [Khūrshīd] proceeded to al-Ruṣayrīṣ.

Then in the year 1250 [1834-5] [Khūrshīd] proceeded to Shandī accompanied by the judge of the land of the Sūdān and the deputy judge, Shaykh Ibrāhīm 'Abd al-Dāfi'. The provincial governors<sup>41</sup> from Barbar, Dunqula and Kordofān assembled. Thence his Excellency proceeded to Dunqula. All those with him returned, and he proceeded to Cairo. There he had an audience of his Highness, who invested him as Pasha over all the Sudanese authorities.<sup>42</sup> He returned (God be praised) safe and sound with favour, having attained his purpose.

In [this year] there died our brother, the late *faqīh* Muḥammad Ḥamad (God's mercy be on him). He was devout and humble, a reciter of God's Book, who kept God's prescriptions. He had a knowledge of *al-Mukhtaṣar* of Shaykh Khalīl (God's mercy be on him).

In that year I was removed from the service of the Divan in the month of al-Qa'da [March 1835]. I had arrived in al-Khurṭūm, and sought service in [114] the Divan on 2 Ṣafar 1240 [26 Sept. 1824] in the company of Shaykh Shanbūl, and I was on the roll of the Divan from the month of Rabī' of that year [i.e. between 24 Oct. and 21 Dec. 1824] until the year 1250. I was on the most congenial terms with my countrymen, my dear contemporaries. Everyone of them was a friend. Their natures inclined to me, and their spirits were lovingly disposed to useful acts. When the clarity of life became turbid, sincerity was distinguished from disloyalty. There was not a friend who did not hold back. Some of them competed in shameful acts; some of them waited for me to meet with disaster, and competed to lure me on. Then God let fall His all-enclosing veil, whereby was covered the shame of His unworthy slave; so to God be much praise and thanks' and reverence. The poet says:—

[13 verses follow.]

So let the discerning and intelligent man take warning by this, and let him not take a dear friend in this time.

<sup>41</sup> Provincial governors: *hukkām al-aqālīm*. Rivlin, *Agricultural policy*, 86, notes the use of this term by al-Jabartī in 1817.

<sup>42</sup> The grant was dated 28 Rabī' I 1251/24 July 1835; Shubayka, *Ta'rikh*, Notes, 30/2 (p. 24).

[There follows an illustrative anecdote from the time of the Caliph Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān (96-99/715-7). The source is given as *Hilyat al-kuramā' wa-bahjat al-nudamā'*.]

[118] So consider, my brother, the chivalrous people of earlier times. As for this our time, may God protect you from the evil of him whom you benefited, and who took you as a friend. He will be only a snake and a wolf to you. Let the discerning and intelligent man beware in every way of his friend in this time, for he is a ravening lion. The poet has said:—

[3 lines of verse follow.]

And I seek pardon of God Almighty for myself and for them, and for all faithful men and women both living and dead.

Then in the year 1251 [1835-6] Khūrshīd Pasha came from Cairo, and entered the Funj territories. He stayed there, and sent for all the *kāshifs*, *ma'mūrs*, *hākims* and shaykhs of *qisms*. They came to him with fear in their hearts because of their dread of him and his despotic power, such as none had looked on before except God in His power and majesty. He remained in seclusion for some days, and returned no answer to them. Their fear increased. Then he went out to them, and they tried to hide at his coming. He showed them the reverse of what they believed. They were reassured, their spirits rose, and their strength of mind was restored. He demanded of them slaves for enrolment as the tax-requirement from the land of the Sūdān, and he released them from the demand for freemen. So they were overjoyed.

In [this year] there was an eclipse of the sun after the afternoon prayer. It lost its light, and was divided into two parts until the time of sunset.

In [this year] [Khūrshīd] himself with his troops raided towards the lands of the south. He slew the hill-[people], and took many of them as slaves. All that conduced to the ease of the people and the cultivation of the country, freed from the demand of the *jihādīyya*. He distributed what he had acquired from the raids among the people of the country in exchange; and in [this year] he distributed the military slaves among all the *ma'mūriyyas*.

In [this year] he invested Muḥammad Bey [119] *Miralay* with the region of al-Ḥarrāza [?]; and in it Muḥammad Efendi *Kaymakam* proceeded on a raid to Sobat, where they saw waters and verdure out of season.

In [this year] the Makādī with Rajab w. Bashīr came down, and

slew the pious saint, the *faqīh* Muḥammad 'Ārūd, and with him innumerable people. Dār al-'Aṭīsh was laid waste, and its inhabitants were dispersed. Awlād Walad Ubayyīḍ were killed (God's mercy on them all). When the victorious army reached al-'Aṭīsh, the Abyssinians gathered in their places, and God cast into their hearts dismay and dread of the victorious Pasha. Then the *baraka* of the pious saint who had been slain took effect. They took Rajab, who was the cause of the wrongdoing, and the Pasha put him to death.

Then in the year 1252 [1836-7] in the month of Ṣafar [May-June 1836] a very great wind blew for two successive days. On the first day it raised a redness after the afternoon prayer. Everywhere became dark, and the birds fell into the water. It was so dark that a man could not see his hand in front of his face; then it quickly cleared. On the second day it raised a blackness darker than what had gone before, which continued until sunset. On both occasions it arose after the afternoon prayer-time.

[MS. Nottingham, p. 138]

There died our pious and excellent brother al-Sharīf Aḥmad, relative by marriage of Shaykh al-Ṭayyib.

In [this year] the Muslims were greatly wearied by the dearth, which was followed by the sickness called *al-qaddāf*. They came together upon the Muslims. There is no adversity save what is sent by God, and by the sickness He put the dearth out of their minds. If He had not driven the one away by the other, the hearts of men would almost have been carried away and broken by the hardship, as occurred in the years 1240 [1824-5] and 1241 [1825-6] from famine, in which all kinds of grain and nourishment and nourishment were lacking. How capable was the Amīr Khūrshīd Pasha! When weariness lay heavy on the Muslims, he produced 100 *ardabbs* of his own, which he gave as alms; and he ordered the sale of another 100 from the Divan, to be sold for the comfort of the Muslims. He ordered prayer for rain, and went out to it and prayed. He showed the utmost compassion for the Muslims.

As for the sickness which occurred in that year, it was the Yellow Wind, and in the time of the Children of Israel it was called the Plague. Its description (God protect us and the Muslims from it) is that a man would suffer from vomiting [120] and diarrhoea. His skin would become chilly, and he would come out in a cold sweat. His eyes would change, and his fingertips would be as if they were roasted in the fire. If anyone was taken with it, and he was kept



hot in the very hour of his seizure, his recovery might be expected—we ask God to grant us recovery and forgiveness.

There died in [that year] eminent, excellent and godly scholars, including the *faqīh* al-Sanūsī Baqādī, the *faqīh* al-Nakhlī, the *faqīh* Muḥammad al-Ṭayyib, the *imām* of the August Mosque in al-Khurṭūm, and Shaykh al-Ṭirayfī b. al-Shaykh Yūsuf. And there died in it Shaykh Muḥammad Ḥasan Bān al-Naqā and Shaykh Sa'd al-'Abbādī, who was a noble man of great excellence, virtue and religion, who was always smiled upon by the brethren. From the day he entered the Divan no wrongs were laid to his account, a man of humility. God's mercy be on them all.

[MS. Nottingham, p. 139]

And there died our brother, al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn.

In the season of the sickness in [this year] the Pasha proceeded to Shandī, and returned safely—God be praised.

In it Aḥmad *Kāshif* made a raid on the Makādī to a place called Irmaja [?] He slew a number of them, and sent them to al-Khurṭūm.

In it there died the *Qutb*, Shaykh al-Muṣṭafā, who had famous *karāmāt*, particularly in the touching of girls.

And in it on the first day of the month of al-Qa'da [7 February 1837] there appeared a great star at mid-day. It fell to the earth, and scattered sparks. It was seen by many in the east and the west. There also happened a great tremor which many people heard; and on the same day a great mist occurred from the daybreak to the time of the noonday prayer.

In [this year] there appeared a violent fever called Umm Sab'a [the Mother of Seven], i.e. a man would have fever for seven days, and if he survived them, his recovery might be expected. There died the famous man of al-Barakāt, Shaykh Muḥammad Ṭāhā Barakāt, known as "the Crooked Track."<sup>43</sup>

In [this year] Shaykh Ṣiddīq was deprived of the office of shaykh after holding the jurisdiction over all Dār al-Shaykh 'Ajīb.

In [this year] Muḥammad Bey went to the *ma'mūriyya* of Kordofān, after being invested as *miralay*; God is the disposer of matters.

Then in the year 1253 [1837–8] in the month of Muḥarram [April–May] Muṣṭafā Bey arrived from Kordofān as *mudīr* in the Peninsula of Sinnār.

<sup>43</sup> The Crooked Track: *al-ḥanj al-darb*, *iḥwijāj al-darb*.

In the night of 15 [Muḥarram/21 April 1837] there was an eclipse of the moon. It became dark, and there was great darkness for more than two hours.

In [that year] the Abyṣsinians descended on the region of al-Qallābāt on 19 [Muḥarram/25 April]. Aḥmad *Kāshif*, the governor of that part, took troops, and advanced with them to a place called Walad Kalanbū. The Abyssinians encountered them [121] like a storm of locusts. Their chief at that time was called Kanfū. The troops withstood them nobly with lively resolution in the mēlée, although they were few, and the Abyssinians surrounded them. Some they took captive and some they slew, and God will give victory to Islam over the base horde.

On 24 [Muḥarram/30 April] a strong wind blew from after the noon prayer until nightfall. The earth became dark and covered with dust, so that a man could not see his hand before him.

Praise be to the great Ruler of the kingdom. Behold, my brother, the omnipotence of the majestic King. Of those who were killed, some were Anatolians,<sup>44</sup> some Kurds, some Dinka, and some Nūba. He gathered them without distinction, and took their souls in a place whence they were not created. Exalted be He Who is omnipotent and majestic.

In that year God sent down unseasonable rain, and filled the valleys with water. The cultivation sprouted, and God sent locusts of two kinds on two occasions. The first kind were small, and were called *qabūra*. They devoured the cultivation when it first sprouted. The second kind were large and red, and devoured what was ripe.

At the beginning of the month of Jumādā II [1 Sept. 1837] there died the pious saint, the beloved, the man of letters, the Sayyid, the Sharīf Maḥmūd Sulaymān. He was a martyr, a stranger, righteous, religious, a man of *ma'rifa* and *mukāshafa*. O God, pardon us and him, and grant us generally his *barakāt*, and bring us into the intercession of his Ancestor (on whom be peace).

On Friday, 7 Jumādā II [7 Sept.] the Friday Prayer was offered in the August Mosque after its reconstruction following the Pasha's order to extend its original structure, which was [built] in the year 1245 [1829–30]:

On 13 Rajab [13 Oct.] there was an eclipse of the moon and prolonged darkness, and then it became clear.

<sup>44</sup> Anatolians: Rūm.

In that year [Khūrshīd] proceeded to Walad Madanī, and he was followed up by the troops with Muṣṭafā *Kāshif*. Then in the month of Sha'bān [Nov.] he proceeded on the east [bank] towards Walad Bakr, and Muṣṭafā Bey proceeded towards al-Ruṣayriṣ.

On 22 Sha'bān [21 Nov.] I left al-Khurṭūm for my place near al-Masallamiyya. Some dear brethren passed by me. I found the home deserted and wrote these verses:—

[14 verses follow.]

[122] On 11 Ramaḍān of the said year [9 Dec.] the victorious and divinely aided governor-general<sup>45</sup> of the land of the Sūdān, Khūrshīd Pasha (may God grant him victory) descended on al-Qallābāt, and his victorious troops raided towards the land of the Abyssinians. They slew and took captives among the Takrūrīs and others. God cast into their hearts dread of Islam and the Pasha. He stayed there in glory, and wrote, and sent messengers to them, awaiting their arrival. None of them came, and he stayed for the space of four months. Then he returned from al-Qallābāt safely, attended with victory and glory.

There happened in [that year] the conversion to Islam of Muḥammad Nūr al-Dīn Efendi. This was at the time of the rendezvous at al-Qallābāt, after his Excellency had attempted his conversion, and caused him to fear the overwhelming might of God and His punishment. His heart inclined [123] to this Faith. He had come to the Peninsula in the year '40 [1824–5]. He and his son were converted, and became good Muslims, heedful of religion. I beseech the Benefactor to multiply good to the community of the Son of 'Adnān, and to seal myself and them with the seal of belief, Who is magnanimous and generous: Amen.

In [that year], in the last part of the month of Qa'da [Feb. 1838], the commander-in-chief<sup>46</sup> of the land of the Sūdān, Aḥmad Pasha,<sup>47</sup> arrived from Cairo with *jihādiyya* troops.

In the year 1254 [1838–9], in the month of Rabī' I [May–June 1838], an august command came from his Highness for Khūrshīd

<sup>45</sup> Governor-general: *hükümdar*, the usual term for the governor-general of the Turco-Egyptian Sudan. The title had already been used in 1832 for the civil governor of Syria during Muḥammad 'Alī Pasha's occupation of that territory. The original significance of the word in Turkish was "sovereign".

<sup>46</sup> Commander-in-chief: *serasker*.

<sup>47</sup> Aḥmad Pasha: he is frequently given the cognomen of Abū Widn—perhaps alluding to prominent ears.

Pasha, governor-general of the Sudanese provinces<sup>48</sup> to present himself at Cairo. So he prepared himself for the journey, and went down. The glory of the noble commanders Aḥmad Pasha succeeded to the command as governor-general. May God be the aid of all: Amen.

The end; and God knows best.

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<sup>48</sup> The Sudanese provinces: *al-mamālik al-Sūdāniyya*. This marks a stage in the passage of [*bilād*] *al-Sūdān* from an ethnic to a territorial designation, "the Sudan" in the modern sense.

### 3. CONTINUATION IN MS. NOTTINGHAM

[Continuation of the Chronicle in MS. Nottingham, pp. 143-53, for the years 1253-8/1838-42]

[143] In the month of Dhu'l-Qa'da [1253/Jan.-Feb. 1838] Aḥmad Pasha came from Cairo accompanied by Farḥāt Bey *Miralay* with 4,000 troops of the *jihādiyya*. He stayed for some days at al-Ḥalfāya; then halted opposite al-Khurṭūm, and made an inspection of all its affairs. He sent Farḥāt Bey with the troops to Walad Madanī, and he himself remained awaiting his Excellency the governor-general of the Sudan on his return from al-Qallābāt. When he was slow in coming, he sent a special messenger to inform him of his arrival from Cairo. When his Excellency learnt of the Pasha's arrival, his personal clerk at that time was a Christian of the Coptic sect called Mark. He became a Muslim, and was named Nūr al-Dīn Efendi. The army rejoiced at his conversion, and a herald proclaimed, "Good tidings! The star of his good fortune has risen and is shining, and his heart has turned to Islam!" His son was converted. His name had been John, and he was called 'Alī Efendi. He entirely desired to become a Muslim and a defender of the Faith.

In the year 1254 [1838-9] there came a viceregal order from his Highness in Cairo that the governor-general of the Sudan Khūrshīd Pasha should come to Cairo. His Excellency Aḥmad Pasha succeeded to the command, and became governor-general of the Sudan. His renown spread through all the Sudanese regions. He crushed resistance, [144] and brought justice to the land of the Sudan with great resolution and intelligence. His deputy was Muḥammad Efendi, and the leading men of his administration were Muṣṭafā Efendi, Shaykh Efendi and Mūsā Efendi. All the country was reduced to order by his wisdom.

He made an expedition to al-Tāka in the year 1255 [1839-40] because at that time the Arabs of that country had disobeyed his order, and had killed a detachment of troops. So he set out in person against them, accompanied by 7,000 *jihādiyya* troops headed by *Miralay* Zahra Bey, and also 1,600 cavalry headed by King Kanbāl, the king of the Shāyqiyya. When he reached the place, he ordered



them to make a spacious *zarība*, in which he placed the ammunition and the guns, and he ordered all the soldiers to sleep in it. That was out of fear of treachery by the Arabs at night. Every morning he raided them. He killed some of them, captured some, and so remained for ninety days. All the remaining Arabs of al-Tāka and the Hadanduwa and the Banū 'Āmir came and offered submission.

He stationed there Ilyās Ağa with 2,000 *jihādiyya* troops, and Muḥammad Ağa al-Argham al-Maghrabī and King Sa'd, one of the kings of the Shāyqiyya, with 600 cavalry. He appointed Kirkūtli 'Umar *Kāshif* as *mudīr* of all that country. His Excellency set out for al-Khurṭūm accompanied by Zahra Bey and the troops. When he reached Shandī, he ordered Zahra Bey to be stationed there with the troops, and he himself came to al-Khurṭūm with King Kanbāl.

When [145] he arrived, he distributed the tax-assessments throughout all the country, organized the enrolment of the soldiery, and proceeded in his endeavours for the pacification and prosperity of the country. He ordered the *khawājas* in every settlement to construct *sāqiyyas* and plant gardens; and he ordered the shaykhs in all the country to hold for him Arab youths of 25 years and under for conscription into the *jihādiyya*. When the news of this was heard in the land of the Sudan, every beardless boy took heed to himself, and remained in the expectation of death. When his Excellency heard this, and knew that it was impossible to hold their youths, he let them be, and proceeded to take them by generosity and kindness.

In the year 1256 [1840–41] he made an expedition to the Tābī Hills. He ordered all the troops to proceed to Fāzūghlī. When all the troops were mustered with Farḥāt Bey, King Kanbāl and all the chiefs of the lowlands of Sinnār, he proceeded to raid the hills, and returned to Fāzūghlī. He captured a number, and made prisoners of a numerous party of them, subduing every rebel.

In that year, i.e. '56, his Highness the Viceroy of Egypt Muḥammad 'Alī Pasha, the Supreme Khedive,<sup>1</sup> honoured the land of the Sūdān.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Supreme Khedive: *al-khidwī al-a'zam*. The title of "khedive" (from the Persian *khidū*, "king"), distinguishing the viceroy of Egypt from other Ottoman provincial governors, was formally bestowed by the sultan in 1867 on Muḥammad 'Alī Pasha's grandson, Ismā'īl. It had already been used adjectivally in Muḥammad 'Alī's time, when his Ministry of the Interior was styled *Dīwān al-Khidwī*. The alternative and historic title of *'Azīz Miṣr* (see p. 71, n. 147) was rejected by Sultan Abdūlazīz, perhaps because it might be taken to mean that he was the slave (*'abd*) of his viceroy!

<sup>2</sup> The date is inaccurate. Muḥammad 'Alī's journey was in 1838–9, i.e. A.H. 1254.

He came by boat as far as Fāzūghlī, and thence he proceeded to Jabal Tābī by land. He was accompanied by the *khawāja* Tossitza,<sup>3</sup> the consul-general of the Greeks, Gaetani Bey,<sup>4</sup> and a few troops. After reaching that hill, he returned again to Fāzūghlī. When he reached that place, [146] all the lowlands of Sinnār appeared before him, and he honoured them. He gave a robe of honour to King Yūsuf, the son of King Bādī, the king of the city of Sinnār the divinely guarded, and this king is the survivor of the lineage of the Funj. His Highness also appointed him a monthly pension, and said to him, "Be at ease, and tell me of everything you need." He appointed Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir as *nāzir* of the city of Sinnār, and he ordered Aḥmad Pasha to improve Fāzūghlī, and to have authority over the country. His Highness set out from the city of Sinnār, and proceeded on his return to the Peninsula of al-Khurṭūm. When he arrived at al-Khurṭūm, he was greatly delighted with it, and gave orders for its organization; and al-Khurṭūm became like a second Cairo in the land of the Sudan. After staying for some days, he set out on his return to Cairo.

As for his Excellency Aḥmad Pasha, he campaigned energetically in the hills. After he had taken possession of them, killed every rebel, and captured an uncountable number of slaves and cattle with a quantity of gold, he appointed Ibrāhīm Efendi as *nāzir* of the gold-mine, and there were stationed with him troops of the *jihādiyya* and the Shāyqiyya. He ordered the erection of buildings at Fāzūghlī, and he ordered Idrīs w. 'Adlān to meet the troops' requirements of corn. After he had put everything in order there, he set off downstream for al-Khurṭūm.

And in the year '56 he mustered the troops, and when they were mustered, he ordered them to go on campaign in the hills. He ordered Farḥāt Bey *Miralay* to proceed with his troops towards Sīra by al-Ruṣayriṣ, and he ordered them to kill the ruling family; i.e. Awlād Aḥmad. When the commander reached that country, [147]

<sup>3</sup> Tossitza, Mikhail (1787–1856); consul-general of Greece. See Hill, *Biographical dictionary*, 361.

<sup>4</sup> Gaetani Bey is styled *Miralay* and described as "chief physician" in Ḥasan Muḥammad Ibrāhīm (ed.), *Rihlat Muḥammad 'Alī Bāshā*, 35, where the name is wrongly rendered Ghabṭānī. He was of Spanish origin, and taught anatomy during the first year (1827) of Muḥammad 'Alī's new School of Medicine in Cairo. See J. Heyworth-Dunne, *An introduction to the history of education in modern Egypt*, London, [n.d., c. 1938], 126, 127; also Paul Santi and Richard Hill (trs.), *The Europeans in the Sudan 1834–1878*, Oxford, 1950, 53, 72.

he immediately captured Awlād Aḥmad, the ruling family because they are of the lineage of the Hamaj, and he slew them. He also slew eight of the special notables. When the people of that country saw that, terror fell on their hearts, and they all became submissive as sheep to the slaughter. Then his Excellency set out from al-Khurṭūm, and proceeded towards Sīra seeking Farḥāt Bey. When he arrived, he met Farḥāt Bey, who informed him of what had taken place; that he had slain Awlād Aḥmad and Awlād al-Jābir (Muḥammad and Aḥmad), Awlād ‘Abd al-Qādir and Awlād Ilyās (Aḥmad and ‘Abdallāh), and Kitū w. al-‘Azīz and Awlād Kamtūr (‘Āmir and ‘Umar). When his Excellency saw that the country was clear, and that everyone was at his work, he proceeded with Farḥāt Bey towards Sinnār. His Excellency went on to Kordofān, and Farḥāt Bey stayed at Walad Madanī, where he died—God’s mercy be on him.

When his Excellency heard of the bey’s death, ‘Uthmān Bey took his place. At the same time also Mūsā Bey was invested as *miralay*, and he appointed him *mudīr* in the lowlands of Sinnār. He was a man of good judgment, administrative ability and much intelligence; and he developed the country there. When his Excellency came from Kordofān, he appointed Zahra Bey as its *mudīr*, and ordered Muṣṭafā Bey to go down to al-Khurṭūm. When this man came to al-Khurṭūm, he met with opposition, and after a while he fell seriously ill. He passed away to the mercy of God Most High, and was buried in al-Khurṭūm. After his death, his Excellency [148] Mūsā Bey was appointed to office, replacing him as the holder of plenary power over all the land of the Sūdān by delegation from his Excellency Aḥmad Pasha.

His Excellency mustered all the troops, and ordered Mūsā Bey to proceed with him towards al-Qallābāt, because Shaykh Ibrāhīm, the *wakīl* of the shaykh of al-Qallābāt, had rebelled, and was causing much mischief. The bey set out at once with Sulaymān *Kāshif*, King Maḥmūd, the king of the Shāyqiyya, and Ibrāhīm *Kāshif*. When they arrived there, they at once seized the shaykh, and they raided the country, taking a good deal from it. Mūsā Bey and those with him remained there. As for his Excellency, he took a detachment of the troops, and set out for the rebel hills. He made a raid on the hills of Abū Rīsh.

The year 1257 [1841–2] had come in. As for Mūsā Bey, a party of Abyssinians descended on him, seeking to kill him, and to kill those with him. There was fighting between them for some days,

and because they were numerous and did not withdraw, he informed his Excellency of the situation. When the news reached his Excellency, he at once mustered his troops, and set out for the territory of al-Qallābāt in the vicinity of the Abyssinians. When he reached it, he ordered Mūsā Bey to set out for Shaykh Ibrāhīm Abū Rīsh, the shaykh of al-‘Aṭīsh, and the Abyssinians, and [the shaykh] was captured.

As for his Excellency, at the beginning of Dhu’l-Ḥijja in that year he held a parade, and reviewed the *jihādiyya*, the cavalry and the bandsmen. The number of the cavalry was 1,600 horse, and the *jihādiyya* [149] 7,000, apart from the chiefs of the land of the Sudan and their retinues. They were as one man. The cavalry fired in the air towards the *jihādiyya*, and the *jihādiyya* kept up a continuous fire in spite of the proximity of the guns. The exercise lasted for about six hours. This was in order that the Abyssinian envoys might see it. They stood and beheld the might of Islam, the commander’s strength of resolution, his decision in judgment, and the complete organization. The writer of this book, Shaykh Aḥmad al-Ḥajj Muḥammad Janqāl, was standing and watching the action of the commander, who as it were supported the Faith of Islam. For, mounted on a black horse, passing between the ranks and the bullets, going round the periphery, he feared nothing; he was like the ferocious lion. Behold, my brother, this marvellous commander! The author said in verse:—

[3 lines of verse follow.]

Among the chief men of his administration were Mūsā Bey, who headed the cavalry in association with King Maḥmūd, the king of the Shāyqiyya, and ‘Uthmān Bey over the *jihādiyya* in association with Ḥasan Efendi *Kaymakam*.

When the review was over, he ordered the troopers to dismount, and he ordered the *jihādiyya* to lay down their arms. He ordered his clerk, the *mu‘allim* Khalīl Nawwār, to write a letter to Rās ‘Alī, the king of the Abyssinians, and there were [150] at that time envoys of Rās ‘Alī present. There was present a pious man called Shaykh ‘Alī w. Maḥbūb, one of the pious people in Ḥarāz Ma‘dīn, and he went with the envoys to Rās ‘Alī.

[Aḥmad Pasha] remained at al-Qallābāt. He turned his mind to the situation of the Abyssinians, expecting the reply to the letter. He heard of another king in Abyssinia called Janqalat, who with his sister’s son Kanfīah was approaching for battle with about 250 troops.

They went down into Khōr Umm Ḥadīd, a place called al-Qannā and Shajar al-kitir, and it is a place full of trees. When the winds blow, and branch strikes on branch, more and more sparks of fire are emitted from the branches. Their aim was to lay waste the territory of al-Qallābāt. When his Excellency heard of their approach, and that they were near to him, he took at once a detachment of troops, and attacked them. He captured Janqalat the king, and with him captured about a hundred of those who were with him. He put slave-collars on their necks, and sent them to al-Khurtūm.

His Excellency remained in expectation of the reply for about sixty days. The reply came to his Excellency from that king with gifts in company with that *faqīh*. In his reply he said thus: "I have not fought you, but your kingdom is the limit of the land of Islam, and our kingdom is the whole of Abyssinia. If you agree, the way is open between us for taking and giving; and if you do not agree, inform us." His Excellency the victorious commander, the Helper of the Faith of Islam, [151] said thus in his reply to him: "The road you mention is open with a safeconduct between ourselves and you. If any Muslim waylays the Abyssinians on the way, he is under our jurisdiction; and if any of the Abyssinians waylays the Muslims when travelling, he is under your jurisdiction." He sent him gifts with that *faqīh*.

When his Excellency saw that the Makādī were not coming down, he went in search of Walad 'Awad, the residence of King Nimr, who slew the late Ismā'īl Pasha. When he reached the place, which is in the hills of the Makādī, he sent an amnesty to all the fugitives with the king and others dwelling in the hills of the Abyssinians. They did not obey his order; so he took a detachment of troops, and proceeded towards Jabal Ḥurriyya, one of the hills of the Abyssinians. There was fighting between him and the people of that hill. His Excellency's cook was killed with the *serṣūvari*, and many of the Makādī were killed. At the same time there was captured the nomad shaykh Walad Mashāḥīt, who was a fugitive from the land of the Sudan. Some of the Shāyqiyya dispersed over the hill, found a party of Abyssinians, chased them, and took about 1,800 head of cattle from them. His Excellency sent an amnesty to King Nimr in Jabal Qabṭa. He fled with his sons and all his belongings. Some of the Ja'aliyyun who were dwelling with him came down together with one of the king's sons called Aḥmad, asking his Excellency for an



amnesty, which he granted them, [152] and he gave a robe of honour to King Nimr's son.

At that time the nomads of the *mudiriyya* of al-Tāka rebelled, and killed a detachment of troops with Bakīr *Kāshif*. When his Excellency heard of this, he ordered the Ja'aliyyūn who had returned from the hills to settle in the region of al-Ṣūfiyya, and he went in search of those nomads of al-Tāka. He ordered Mūsā Bey to proceed to al-Khurṭūm. 'Uthmān Bey also returned to al-Khurṭūm because he was sick, and Ḥasan Efendi took his place over the *jihādiyya*. He himself marched with the divinely aided troops until he reached the place. He at once sent an amnesty to all the rebellious nomads. They did not obey his order, so he ordered hostilities against them within the thickets. When he drove them out from among the trees, he ordered the guns to fire on them. That was in the daytime of Monday, Jumādā I in that year [? 2 Jumādā I 1258/11 June 1842]. About 600 of the nomads were killed and 260 captured. Afterwards he ordered the troops to halt in the middle of the forest, to make a *zarība* of timber, and to put the captives in it. He remained there for seven days, and all submitted to his orders. He imposed taxes on them, arrested all their chiefs, and put them with the captives. Afterwards his Excellency went downstream with all the troops for al-Khurṭūm. When he arrived there, he spent some days in justice and equity, beneficence and pleasure. At that time he made a great [153] festivity for his treasurer, Sa'īd Muḥammad Efendi.

Then after a while he set out for Kordofān to look into the condition of the country as was his custom, and he remained there for some time. Zahra Bey, the *mudir* of al-Tāka [*sic*], fell ill and passed away. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd Bey was invested in his place, and Sulaymān *Kāshif* was appointed as *wakīl* in the *mudiriyya*. His Excellency took a detachment of the troops stationed in the districts of Kordofān, and set out with them for the Taqalī hills. At that time Muḥammad Amīn Bey *Mirliva* arrived at al-Khurṭūm from Cairo. When his Excellency heard of his arrival, he sent for him at once, and he was accompanied by al-Ghazzāwī with King Walad 'Ajīb. His Excellency ordered Amīn Bey and the king to take a detachment of troops, and to proceed to the hills of the Baqqāra. At that time King Maryūd, the king of the Taqalī hills, rebelled. The bey advanced on him, seized him, and killed him. His brother, Shaykh Nāṣir, was appointed in his place. The bey returned again to the hills of the Baqqāra. When

the people of those hills saw him, they all offered their submission, and he returned to al-Khurṭūm without fighting.

His Excellency was in Kordofān, raiding in the direction of Jabal al-Dāyir. He took as booty 1,800 head of beardless slaves, apart from the slain and the cattle. He ordered the shaykh of those districts to provide supplementary slaves. Then he sent generally to all the land of the Sudan, both great and small, to provide supplementary slaves. They obeyed his order at once, and all . . .

[End of fragment]

#### 4. AL-ZUBAYR W. ḌAWWAH'S RECENSION IN MS. PARIS

[The account of the Turco-Egyptian regime in the MS. Paris recension, ff. 27r-42v]

[27r] After the death of Muḥammad 'Adlān they continued in dissension as Shaykh Idrīs [b. al-Arbāb] and the *faqīh* Ḥijāzī [w. Abī Zayd] had announced. For they remained for the months of Rajab and Sha'bān in that state of dispute and dissension until the auspicious arrival of the late blessed Ismā'īl Pasha, the son of his Highness our late lord al-Ḥājj Muḥammad 'Alī Pasha (on whom God Most High have mercy).

His coming was at the end of Sha'bān [1235/June 1820. He halted on the west [bank] opposite al-Ḥalfāya. Shaykh Nāṣir w. al-Amīn offered his submission. He granted him an amnesty, and invested him with a splendid robe of honour. He appointed a partner for him in his territory as he was ailing, and took his son al-Amīn with him to Sinnār. With him were the kings of the Sa'dāb, King Nimr and King al-Muṣā'id.

Then he set out, and halted at Umm Durmān with all his divinely aided troops and the very numerous armies. Accompanying him were boats and *dhahabiyyas*. He crossed the river, and halted at al-Khurṭūm. He was met by the *faqīh* Muḥammad w. 'Alī, the *khalīfa* of the *faqīh* Arbāb, and those with him. He amnestied him, and honoured him. He did not accept any fodder for the horses from Walad 'Ajīb or from the people of al-Khurṭūm.

He set out from al-Khurṭūm for Sinnār on the last day of [27v] Sha'bān [11 June]. In his retinue was the *qāḍī* Muḥammad al-Asyūṭī, the *qāḍī*-general, an eminent scholar of correct opinions. Likewise there were with him the Sayyid Aḥmad al-Baqlī, the Shafī'ī *muftī*, and Sayyid Aḥmad Efendi al-Salāwī, the Mālikī *muftī*. On the last day of Sha'bān he set out from al-Khurṭūm for Sinnār. Ramaḍān began when he was at al-Ḥājj Walad Naml, and he pressed on until he halted at a village near to al-Masallamiyya. At that stopping-place some of the notables met him, and he gave them an amnesty. Also on the way Rajab w. 'Adlān and the *Arbāb* Dafa'allāh w. Aḥmad

met him with humble submission, and he likewise granted them an amnesty and investiture as with those previously.

Before he reached Sinnār, he was met by King Bādī with humble submission, and with him were some of the Hamaj. He likewise gave them an amnesty, and he invested King Bādī with a splendid robe of honour befitting his rank. He reassured and honoured him. He entered Sinnār on Monday, 10 Ramaḍān [21 June], and there he was met by the *'ulamā'* and the notables. He met them with joy and delight, invested them all, and showed them the utmost honour in speaking to them. He gave them profuse gifts from his princely treasury. His herald proclaimed that no complaint should be submitted to him concerning anything whatever in the period of the Sūdān previous to his entry, and business would proceed concerning what occurred after his entry. He was dignified and gentle, well-disposed and easy of access. A peasant could approach him despite the weight of his authority and the dread he inspired. He would listen unhurriedly to what he had to say without causing confusion or alarm, and these were the qualities of his father the viceroy—God's mercy be on him.

After he entered Sinnār, he sent Rajab w. 'Adlān with a detachment of troops after Ḥasan w. Rajab, as he had fled from him and not come to meet him. He caught up with him on the east [bank]. They killed some of his company. The *faqīh* al-Sayyid w. Zayn al-'Ābidīn was killed. They took Ḥasan prisoner, and returned to Sinnār. When he came to him, he kindly pardoned him. He ordered 'Abdallah Jiqir to be put to death, and he was impaled. He was the first to be put to death [28r] in this manner. Muḥammad al-Najīḍ was put to death by the sword. After them 'Alī w. Timsāḥ, one of the people of Barbar, was hanged, and he was the first to be put to death in this way in the Sūdān. Then he sent Muḥammad Sa'īd Efendī with a detachment of troops together with Shaykh Raḥma w. Daḥḥāla to the king of the Jamū'iyya, King Idrīs al-Muḥayna, because he had not come to meet him, and he heard that he had plundered the chattels of the villages. So he advanced on him, and found him in his abode on the White Nile. So they killed him, looted his wealth, and returned to Sinnār delighted with their booty.

Then his Excellency the Pasha gave an order first of all for the registration of the houses, classified as superior, medium and inferior. After that the slaves and the animals were registered. No taxes were fixed, and nothing was taken from the country except fodder.

Then in the first part of the year '37 [1821-22] the country was honoured by the visit of our lord the governor of Jedda, *Serasker* Ibrāhīm Pasha. He met his brother in Sinnār, and stayed at al-'Ayra, a place near to al-Kadarū. They spent a short time in visits to each other. Then in Rabī' I [1237/Nov.-Dec. 1821] they set out together for the hills. Our lord Ibrāhīm Pasha returned-thence, and set out for Cairo; and our lord Ismā'il Pasha set out for Fāzūghlī and Ghubaysh. He seized their chiefs, ordered the travelling *jallāba* to quit, and imposed a levy of gold on them.

While he was absent in the hills, the tariff of taxes was fixed. It was drawn up by the *divan efendi* Muḥammad Sa'id with the cognizance of the *mubāshir*, the *mu'allim* Ḥannā al-Ṭawīl, and the *Arbāb* Dafa'allāh w. Aḥmad. They levied 15 riyals on each slave, 10 on each cow, and 5 on each sheep and donkey.

During that time the herald of evil proclaimed that the Pasha had been killed in the hills. Then the country was shaken, and the people rose up. He who had something in his heart disclosed the opposition that was in his heart and its extent. Some of them held back, awaiting certain news of his safety. When his Excellency returned from the hills, he heard of this, and he did not punish anyone for what he had done. He treated them with clemency, pardon and forgiveness, 'except for Walad 'Ujaylāwī alone, whom he put to death [28v] by impalement.

He arrived on 1 Rajab of that year [1237/24 March 1822]. He found that the *divan efendi* and the *mubāshir* had fixed the assessments, had organized the clerks and the *kaymakams*, given them registers, and distributed them through the villages to carry out the collection. He was not pleased with what they had done as it was burdensome. He called for the registers to make changes, and he found that the *mubāshir* had sent them off to Cairo. So he sent Shaykh Sa'd 'Abd al-Fattāḥ after them to bring them back, and he found that they had gone ahead. Then his Excellency ordered an increase in trading; he increased the prices of slaves, and ordered that the collection should be carried out leniently. In this his wish was to ensure the prosperity of the country and to lighten the burden on the people, inasmuch as he could not change the registers.

In the days of his return from the hills the rains fell in Sinnār, and some of the people were stricken with fever. Some of the doctors advised him that the west bank at Walad Madanī was better than the west bank at Sinnār. So he ordered building there, and



transferred thither. He resided there with all his troops and soldiers, the *qāḍī* and the two *muftīs*, until the end of the year '37.

On the first of the year '38 [18 Sept. 1822] he sent some of the troops to Rajab w. 'Adlān in Sinnar, and they killed him in his bed. Afterwards they put 'Alī w. 'Adlān to death by hanging. There died in those days in Walad Madanī the *qāḍī* Muḥammad al-Asyūṭī, Shaykh Karrār al-'Abbādī and Muḥammad Aḡa al-Qusṭanṭīnī, one of the Maghāriba irregular cavalry; and they were buried at Walad Madanī. Ḥasan w. Rajab fled.

In Ṣafar [Oct.-Nov. 1822] [Ismā'īl Pasha] set out in boats for the north. When he reached Shandī, King Nimr and King al-Musā'id met him, and he demanded from them things which they found unbearable. They submitted overtly, and asked for a delay in fulfilling them. They hid their ill-will until he left the boats, and stayed in one of the houses of Shandī alone except for his Mamluks. Satan seduced them, and made evil attractive. So they betrayed him, and committed a memorable act. It was the cause of the devastation of the country and the crushing of the people, for it was a great felony. Because of it blood was shed, chattels were plundered, and women were raped. Its evil did not stop with the culprit alone, but its harm spread to all the people. [29r] Women and children were abused, the people were scattered in the wilderness, and but few remained.

When the news of this shocking event reached the *kāhya* Muḥammad Sa'id Efendi in Walad Madanī, he mustered his troops, held firm in Walad Madanī, and sent *Ṣamadan Aḡa Muṣṭafā Kāshif* with a force of cavalry to ascertain the truth of the news. He got as far as al-Khurṭūm, and returned to Walad Madanī. He reported the truth. The *Arbāb* Dafa'allāh fled from Walad Madanī, and stopped at the village of 'Abbūd. Their hosts gathered at 'Abbūd. The *kāhya* sent a detachment of cavalry to them. They left Walad Madanī by night, and by morning they were at 'Abbūd. They all fled, and their hosts at 'Abbūd were unavailing. The *faqīh* Muḥammad w. 'Abd al-'Alīm, the *khalīfa* of Walad 'Abbūd was killed and he was a pious man. The troops laid the village of 'Abbūd waste, looted much wealth, and returned to Walad Madanī safely with their booty.

As for the *Arbāb* Dafa'allāh and those routed with him, they set out for the south, and joined forces with Ḥasan w. Rajab. They gathered at a place called Abū Shawka. So the *kāhya* sent a detachment of troops and Shāyqiyya against them under the command of Muṣṭafā Kāshif. They found them there, and fought with them. Ḥasan

w. Rajab, his paternal uncle Shaykh Ḥusayn, his son Muḥammad, and a number of chiefs and others were killed. The rest of them were dispersed, and the troops and the Shāyqiyya took considerable loot, cash and so forth. They returned safely to Walad Madanī with their booty.

When the news of this event reached the honoured commander Defterdar Muḥammad Bey, who was at that time resident in Kordofāl as governor, he set out at once from Kordofāl with some of his troops, and he brought with him some of the Fūr troops of Muḥammad Lūtān and others of the Jima'. He set out with the lot for al-Abwāb, slaying and laying waste, until he reached al-Matamma, where he found a company assembled. Some of them asked for an amnesty, which he gave them. Then one of the assembled company attacked him, wounding the Bey with a spear he held. Thereupon the Bey ordered them to be put to the sword. [29v] A great number of them were killed, and some of them sought sanctuary with the *faqīh* Aḥmad al-Rayyāḥ in his *khawwa*. He ordered them to be burnt, and they were all burnt. Then he set out for Shandī.

He found that King Nimr had fled away, and he returned by the east bank, seeking Walad 'Ajīb in al-Ḥalfāya. He found that he had gone, and likewise the inhabitants. So on finding it deserted, he set fire to many of the houses. He passed by the *qubba* of Shaykh Khōjalī, where likewise he found nobody, and forded the river to Tūtī Island, where he killed a great number. Then he set out for al-'Aylafūn, preceded by some of the Fūr troops who were with him. The inhabitants of al-'Aylafūn and others living there went out to them. They were full of conceit, deluded by Satan to fight him. When he came to them, he committed hideous slaughter, burnt their houses, and made captives of them, slaves and freemen, women and children. Then he proceeded to Walad Madanī along the east [bank]. At that time Walad 'Ajīb was staying at Kutrānj. When he heard what had happened to the inhabitants of al-'Aylafūn, he went from Kutrānj through the desert, and stopped at al-Qubba, whence he crossed to Umm Durmān with his troops. There the rest of the routed Hamaj from the battle of Abū Shawka joined him.

As for the Bey, he set out with the prisoners he had taken from al-'Aylafūn for Walad Madanī. He stayed there a short time, and ordered Ḥusayn *Çokadar Ağā* to proceed to the White Nile. As he proceeded, he passed by the villages of al-'Adik. When he reached Walad al-Turābī, he went out to the east, looted camels and sheep

from the Shukriyya, and proceeded towards the White Nile. He stopped at the camp of the Ja'aliyyūn. The troops raided the encampments, and looted at will. Then some of them asked him for an amnesty, which he granted them, and ordered the return of their animals on terms which he imposed. Then one of the troops came, and told him that the *faqīh* Faḍlallāh of the encampment of the Naqāqīr on the White Nile was one of those who had lifted up their heads and stretched out their hands to kill the troops, "and he killed my brother." Then the *Çokadar* asked about the *faqīh* Faḍlallāh, and he was not to be found. He had 72 men from the encampment of the Ja'aliyyūn with him, and he ordered their hands to be cut off. They were all cut off, and some of them died because of it, and some of them lived. Then he moved on from them.

As for the Defterdar Bey, he set out for Kordofāl; then he returned [30r] the same year to the country of the Ja'aliyyūn. When he set out for Kordofāl, Walad 'Ajīb with some of the routed Hamaj were staying on the west [bank] by Umm Durmān. 'Alī Ağa al-Buṣaylī with some of the Shāyqī and Maghribī troops came to them, and they fled before them to the vicinity of Shandī, and joined King Nimr. They remained for a while until they heard of the coming of the Defterdar Bey from Kordofān, when they dispersed. Some of them stopped at al-Hilāliyya, and the news of this reached the *kāhya* Muḥammad Sa'īd. He sent troops in boats, and they made a dawn attack on them. They killed a number of them, and the rest fled. The troops returned to Walad Madanī with the booty they had taken.

When the Defterdar Bey arrived in the country of the Ja'aliyyūn, King Nimr fled from him, and stopped in a place in the desert called al-Naṣūb. [The Bey] caught up with him, having with him a detachment of Turkish and Shāyqī troops. King Nimr fought them, and finally escaped with some of his company and followers. Many of them were killed, and it was a great battle. In it they looted many chattels, and captured the women and children. He returned with the chattels he had looted and the prisoners to Umm 'Urūq, where he stayed. There were so many captives that he constructed a *zarība* for them, and provided them with water by a trench. Some of them died in severe distress, some of them were ransomed by Shaykh Bashīr w. 'Aqīd, and some were sent to Cairo. As for those who were defeated in the battle of al-Naṣūb, they were dispersed throughout the region.

Then [the Defterdar] advanced from Umm 'Urūq, seeking to battle

with the defeated, i.e. al-Musā'id and Walad 'Ajīb. On the way he took the *faqīh* Ibrāhīm 'Isā, and with him a person called 'Ajīb w. Duqaysh. After beating them, he took them with him to the district of Abū Ḥarāz, and confined them for a while. Then he released them, and set out after the defeated. He caught up with al-Musā'id at a place between the Dindir and the Rahad called Makdūr, and slew them in a devastating slaying. He looted chattels, and took many prisoners. Among the slain was Shaykh Ṣālīḥ of Awlād Bān al-Naqā. He looted their chattels, and the books of Shaykh Ḥasan were scattered.

That was in the early part of the year '39 [1823-4], and in it he proceeded to Sabdarāt. On his return he ordered all the captives, both slaves and freemen, to be sent to Cairo, [30v] and he ordered Muḥammad Sa'id the *kāhya* to proceed to Cairo with the rest of the household of the late blessed [Ismā'il Pasha] and all his belongings. He appointed Kulālī al-Ḥājj Aḥmad Koca as agent in Walad Madanī. Then he returned to Umm 'Urūq taking with him al-Sayyid Aḥmad Efendi al-Salāwī. He stayed there, and al-Ḥājj 'Abd al-Rāziq was his clerk at that time.

On 27 Rajab [1239/28 March 1824] there passed away the shaykh of the *ṭarīqa*, who combined the Sharī'a and the *Ḥaqīqa*, the teacher of the disciples and the guide of the seekers, Shaykh Aḥmad al-Ṭayyib b. al-Bashīr—may God Most High have mercy on him. He was lamented in an elegy by Ibrāhīm 'Abd al-Dāfi' as follows:—

[25 verses follow.]

[31r] In the last part of that year the Bey ordered all the slaves which he had taken in taxation to be sent to Cairo; and he prepared to go down to Cairo, having heard of the coming of 'Uthmān Bey *Birinci Miralay* to the Sūdān. So he stayed in Umm 'Urūq until 'Uthmān Bey arrived, whereupon he set out for Cairo, taking with him al-Sayyid Aḥmad al-Salāwī. That was in Muḥarram at the opening of the year 1240 [26 Aug.—24 Sept. 1824].

In Ṣafar of that year [25 Sept.—24 Oct. 1824] 'Uthmān Bey arrived at Umm Durmān with his *jihādiyya* troops, and this was the first entry of the *jihādiyya* into the country. With him was the *mu'allim* Mikhā'il Abū 'Ubayd as *mubāshir*. Then he crossed to al-Khurṭūm. He was met by Shaykh Shanbūl w. Madanī. He honoured him, gave him a robe of honour, and appointed him as shaykh over all the country from Ḥajar al-'Asal to the south. Then Shaykh 'Abdallāh w. 'Umar came to him, and he put him to death by the cannon. He

left al-Khurṭūm for Walad Madanī. He appointed ʿUthmān Aḡa al-Kharbūṭlī, the supervisor of the rations of the *jihādiyya*, as his *wakīl*, and ordered him to put the *faqīh* Arbāb w. al-Kāmil to death by the cannon also, and he did so.

When [ʿUthman Bey] arrived at Walad Madani, he put to death a number of people by the cannon. He ordered al-Sayyid Aḥmad al-Baqlī, the *muftī* of the Shāfiʿī sayyids, to go down to [31v] Cairo. There occurred a great disturbance of the common people because of these atrocities, and their hearts were estranged from staying in their homelands. Then he ordered the levy of the taxes. The assessment was drawn up, and he sent the troops warrants on the villages for the collection. They surrounded them, and laid heavy constraints on the people. Many of the people fled, some of them making their way to the district of al-Qadārif. He sent Ibrāhīm Efendi after them. They caught up with them at al-Qadārif. He would assemble them in groups, and kill them.

Along with that were smallpox and a severe dearth in which a *raṭl* of durra cost a piastre, and dogs and donkeys were eaten. That arose from the lack of orderly government, for the Bey was distracted by a severe attack of pleurisy. His *wakīl*, Kharbūṭlī ʿUthmān Aḡa, the supervisor of the rations, held the rank of *mulāzim*. He had superiors in rank in the troops—*kaymakam*, *bölükbaşıs* and *yüzbaşıs*, and they did not obey his commands or prohibitions. Everyone did as he thought best, and the subject-flock had no shepherd.

Then in mid-Ramaḍān of that year [1241/23 April 1826] the Bey passed away, and his agent concealed his death until he had sent to the Amir Maḥū Bey in Barbar. He came quickly, and stopped on the east [bank] near to Ḥillat Ḥamad. He stayed for some days; then he returned to Barbar, and stayed there a little. Then he came with all his troops. He himself stayed at al-Khurṭūm, and his troops at al-Qubba. That was in the year '41 [1825–6].

He rescinded the taxes, and forbade the *jihādiyya* troops to continue committing offences against the people.

[Shubayka, p. 27]

Then he sent for the *ʿumdas*, the notables and the *marātīb* who remained in the Peninsula. When they came before him, he questioned them, and sought their advice on how to pacify the people, on their various ways of living, and on bringing them back to their homelands. Each of those present gave his opinion, but he approved only of the opinion of Shaykh ʿAbd al-Qādir, the son



of Shaykh al-Zayn, who at that time was the shaykh of a *khutʿa*. He distinguished him from his inferiors by a splendid robe, and invested him as shaykh of the *qism* of al-Kūʿ. He took him with him to al-Qaḍārif in order to consult him about his affairs.

He set off for al-Qaḍārif, and ordered durra to be sent thence to the Peninsula, where it was completely lacking. He sent much of it, and the people kept coming for it, for they were on the brink of destruction, and they asked God to pardon him for what he had committed. His treatment of the subject people was satisfactory, but the character of his troops was utterly vicious. Those who were known as the *bayraqiyya* were stationed at Qubbat al-Shaykh Khōjalī, and they devastated it and its surroundings.

There died in that year a number of pious *fugaraʿ* at Qubbat Khōjalī [32r] from smallpox, and Ibrahim ʿAbd al-Dāfi lamented them in a long elegy, which opens:—

“Today the cornerstone of the Faith has fallen.”

I have not written it out because of its length, although the chronicler wrote the whole of it. Among those who died in that year were the *faqīh* Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Nūr, the pious devotee, the *khalīfa* of Shaykh Khōjalī; the scholar and practiser of good works, the reciter of the Qurʾān, the *faqīh* al-Sayyid Ḥammād; the eminent scholar, the *faqīh* al-Shaykh Idrīs, whom the Amīr ʿUthmān appointed as a judge; the eminent authority, the *faqīh* Muḥammad Zarrūq, and others.

At the beginning of al-Qaʿda in that year [1241/7 June 1826] the Amīr Khūrshīd Aḡa came as governor of the Sūdān. The Amīr Maḥū Bey met him at Umm Durmān, and proceeded to Cairo. Khūrshīd entered al-Khurṭūm on 2 al-Qaʿda [8 June]. There came with him al-Sayyid Aḥmad Efendi al-Salāwī as judge over the whole of the Sūdān, and al-Sayyid Muḥammad Efendi al-Bulaydī as *muftī* over the whole of the Sūdān.

When he reached al-Khurṭūm, all the people rejoiced at his coming. The shaykhs and the peasants hastened to him, and he met them joyfully with open arms and a cheerful face. He promised them complete release from the weariness and trouble they had suffered. He released all who were imprisoned from the time of the late ʿUthmān Bey. He ordered the shaykhs who met him to record all the villages, showing the cultivation and the waste. He distributed letters of amnesty to all parts, announcing complete calm; and he

ordered them to return to their homelands, for they had been dispersed in all directions, first by the revolt of Nimr, and secondly in the days of 'Uthmān Bey because of the dearth and the devastation. He was the source of compassion and mercy towards the subject people, a lover of prosperity and a hater of devastation. All his edicts were agreeable to the Muhammadan Shari'a apart from the taxation and matters connected with the treasury. All his days were like festivals because of good administration and the ease of the people.

Let us give an account of what happened in his days from the beginning of his rule and his entry into the country, which was in al-Qa'da of the '41, until Rabī' I of the year '48 [Sept. 1829].

I say that in Dhu'l-Hijja, the end of the year '41 [July-Aug. 1826] [32v] there was abundant rainfall. The people boded well, hastened to cultivate, and ascribed that to his pious intention. In the early part of that month there died the Shaykh of Islam and of the Muslims, the guide of the seekers, who wore himself out in establishing the sciences and teaching them in the city of Sinnār [Aḥmad b. 'Isā]. Al-Sayyid Aḥmad Efendi al-Salāwī lamented him in an elegy, and his disciples also lamented him in elegies, which we shall not record for fear of prolixity.

In those days [Khūrshīd] proceeded to the White Nile, smote some of the looters, and returned safely. Then he proceeded to Dār al-Abwāb, and arrested Shaykh Bashīr w. Aḥmad 'Aqīd and his brother Muṣṭafā. He brought him to account, and took substantial wealth from them.

During that time Shaykh Idrīs w. 'Adlān came to him in Barbar together with Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir w. al-Shaykh al-Zayn. He gave him an amnesty, and honoured him. From the time of the late blessed [Ismā'īl Pasha] Shaykh Idrīs had not met any of the rulers. When he met him, he amnestied him, and set his mind at rest. He appointed him as shaykh over the Fūnj Hills, and granted him leave to reside there.

Then [Khūrshīd] returned to al-Khurṭūm. He made a raid on Walad al-'Ajaba in the Sīrū region, and returned safely. Then he ordered an assembly of the shaykhs to fix the assessment of tax, and he levied it on the acreage.

[Shubayka, p. 28]

Then he assembled the shaykhs in al-Khurṭūm in order to assess the treasury revenues; and he ordered them to choose a shaykh for themselves, so that he might invest him as their paramount

shaykh, to be an intermediary between himself and them. So they unanimously chose Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir, and thereupon there was issued to him the order for the paramount shaykhship from Hajar al-'Asal to the furthest limits of the Fūnj Hills. He invested him with a splendid robe, and girded him with the sword. When his wish for him had been fully accomplished, he made the assessment of the revenues due from the population with the consensus of the shaykhs.

Then in the year '45 in Muḥarram [July–Aug. 1827] he made a raid on the Dinka, and thence he made his way to the southern hills. In [the raid] there died Mūsā *Kāshif*, a *mu'āwin* in his retinue. They were a group all of whom were intelligent and sensible men. The monthly salary of each of them was seven purses, and for some of them more than that. [Khūrshīd] did not carry out any matter without consulting them, or without consulting Mikhā'il Abū 'Ubayd, for they were men long in the viceroy's service, and possessed expert knowledge. Mūsā *Kāshif* was one of the chief of them. He died in Jabal Ma'ja—God Most High have mercy on him.

In that year there took place the revolt of Shaykh Khalīfa w. al-Ḥājj al-'Abbādī. He displayed contumely and disobedience. He went to Barbar, and disputed with the troops there. This was reported to [Khūrshīd], and he set out at once for Barbar with *jihādiyya* troops in boats. [33r] When he arrived, he found that the troops had killed Shaykh Khalīfa, and all was quiet. So he returned.

In the year '44 [1828–9] he made a raid in the hills. He made some killings in the hills of Abū Ramla, and dread of him entered the hearts of the people of al-'Atīsh. Some fugitives gradually came back to him. As an act of policy he exempted the chief men of the people from taxation to attract them to cultivation and the return of the fugitives. If, for example, he exempted one of the *faqīhs* in respect of ten *jad'as*, [the *faqīh*] would proceed to bring in people from whom it would be taken for 100 or 200 *jad'as* or more. Thereby cultivation increased, and the people multiplied.

[Shubayka, pp. 28–9]

Some of the fugitives gradually came back to him. Then Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir advised him to exempt the chief men of the people from the taxation to attract them to cultivation. He did so, and the result of this idea appeared. If, for example, he exempted one of the *faqīhs* or chiefs in respect of ten *jad'as*, the person exempted

would proceed to reassure the people, and bring them back to their homes, so that it would be taken from them for 100 or 200 *jad'as* or more. Through his good policy cultivation increased, and the people multiplied.

While he was away on this raid, his *wakīl* was *Kaymakam* Ibrāhīm Efendi. The merchant 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Naddāf al-Isnāwī was killed while staying at Qubbat al-Shaykh Khōjalī. His slave-girl killed him at night, and concealed the matter. When the *wakīl* Ibrāhīm Efendi heard of it, he despatched a detachment of troops. They attacked Awlād al-Shaykh Khōjalī, took their chief men, and confined them in irons. They beat them severely, and then handed them over to Ḥasan *kāshif*, the governor of the province of al-Ḥalfāya and the White Nile. The *kāshif* continued to menace them and to threaten to kill them. Their trouble and that of their people increased. In the end the *faqīh* Ibrāhīm 'Abd al-Dāfi recited this ode, in which he sought the aid of the saints and Shaykh Khōjalī:—

[38 verses follow.]

[34r] Then the *baraka* of Shaykh al-Khōjalī [*sic*] and the *baraka* of the saints mentioned in this ode took effect. God caused the slave-girl to speak in obedience. She asserted and confessed that it was she who killed her master with a knife while he slept. When she confessed that, the *kāshif* put her to death, and God saved Awlād al-Khōjalī [*sic*], and released them.

In the year '45 [1829–30] there was an extremely high Nile, which almost drowned the country. In it there came the eminent authority, the perfect, the magnanimous and perfect one, Shaykh Aḥmad al-Rayyaḥ b. al-Shaykh Muḥammad b. al-Shaykh Yūsuf (may God profit us by their *baraka*). He came from Dār al-'Aṭīsh, and [Khūrshīd] rejoiced at his coming. He robed him, and honoured him. Then he ordered him to return to Dār al-'Aṭīsh, to inform the fugitives there that he [i.e. Khūrshīd] was coming to them in this year; and he said to him, "Tell them that he who obeys shall be amnestied, and likewise all of them that join you shall be amnestied."

Then [Khūrshīd] set forth to Dār al-'Aṭīsh, and entered it. God cast dismay into their hearts. He amnestied those whom he found there. He was accompanied by Rajab w. Bashīr. He sent the troops after those of them who fled. They caught up with them. They killed 'Alī w. Ṭāhā, the grandson of Shaykh Yūsuf. He amnestied the rest, and sent all the fugitives with Shaykh Aḥmad al-Rayyaḥ and a

detachment of Maghāriba [34v] as an escort.<sup>1</sup> They numbered 12,000 or more, great and small, free and slaves. Thereby fear entered the hearts of all in that region such as Shaykh Muḥammad Mīrī and the people of Qubā. Shaykh Mīrī submitted and became obedient, and likewise other trouble-makers among the nomad tribesmen were brought to obedience. The subject people desired and coveted settlement, and none of the fugitives remained alive in the southern region except King Nimr and his followers.

In that year [Khūrshīd] built the mosque in al-Khurṭūm. From the beginning of that year the people began to settle in al-Khurṭūm, and wanted to build. Before that most of the houses had been of matting and cow-hide. There had only been the houses of Awlād *al-faqīh* Arbāb, which were near the new part, the houses of Awlād *al-Qudāh* and Awlād *al-faqīh* Ḥamadnāllāh, and the houses of the Badānāb and the wharf. These were the houses that ʿUthmān Bey found in al-Khurṭūm. When he [i.e. ʿUthmān] came, he ordered the building of *Bostancı orta*,<sup>1</sup> and the building of a place for the treasury and the affairs of the *jihādīyya*. When Khūrshīd came, he found no settlement except the houses mentioned, and on the bank of the river he found the residence which Maḥū Bey built, and it is now the governor-general's palace. Beginning with the building of the mosque, the settlement started. [Khūrshīd] assisted them with planks and timber to encourage settlement. He ordered the demolition of the houses made of matting, the *qutṭīyyas* and the *zarības*. From that year the people worked hard at building.

In the last part of that year he dismissed the *muʿallim* Mīkhāʾīl [Abū] ʿUbayd from office as *mubāshir*, and in his place came the *muʿallim* Bishāra al-Bulūṭī.

In the year '46 [1830–31] the *muʿallim* Mūkhāʾīl proceeded to Cairo, and he was succeeded in office by the *muʿallim* Bishāra. His tenure of office was not good, and improprieties came to light. So [Khūrshīd] ordered his dismissal, and sent him to the dockyard as a punishment for him and a warning to others against the commission of improprieties.

<sup>1</sup> *Bostancı orta*: T. meaning "the company of the *Bostancı[s]*", i.e. the [barracks of] the company of the palace guards. On *Bostancı*, cf. L.H. Uzunçarşılı, BOSTANDI, EI2, I, 1277–8. A plan of al-Khurṭūm in 1860, reproduced in Crawford, *Fung kingdom*, 70, shows barracks to the north of the town named Orta Muntahkbar (*sic*), which may be this building.



In that year [Khūrshīd] raided the Shilluk with boats on the White Nile, and slew them in a great slaughter, the like had not happened [35r] to them save in the time of King Bādī w. Rubāt.

There died in that year the *faqīh* 'Abd al-Qādir w. Dayfallāh. He was a good and pious man.

In the year '47 [1831-2] [Khūrshīd] campaigned against Sabdarāt, and closely besieged them. They submitted themselves to obedience, and requested an amnesty. He amnestied them, and all their tribes submitted, and became like the other subject people. After that he returned in safety.

In that year the *mu'allim* 'Abd al-Malik Dūs came as *mubāshir* in place of the dismissed *mubāshir*. And in it there occurred a great shock, very like an earthquake, and the earth was moved by it.

In it there died the pious man, Shaykh Muḥammad al-Majdhūb Qamar al-Dīn b. al-Shaykh Ḥamad w. al-Majdhūb, and was buried at al-Dāmar. He was a master of *karāmāt*. He wrote a commentary on *al-Khaṣā'is* and odes in praise of the Prophet—God Most High have mercy on him.

In the last part of it there died Kharbūtlī Ḥasan *Kāshif*, governor of the province of al-Ḥalfāya and the White Nile. He was generous and open-handed; the rich and the poor would sit at his table. Through the *baraka* of his generosity he was buried inside the *qubba* of Shaykh Khōjalī—God Most High have mercy on him.

In the year '48 [1832-33] [Khūrshīd] proceeded to Kordofāl, and returned at its end. And in it al-Sayyid Aḥmad Efendi al-Salāwī, judge of the whole of the land of the Sūdān, wrote a commentary on the Forty [Ḥadīths] of al-Nūrī, and abridged *al-Ṭarīqa al-Muḥammadiyya* with a commentary.

In the year '49 [1833-4] [Khūrshīd] received the good news that the viceroy had given him the rank of *mirlwa*, and had appointed him to the full status of *mudīr*. In it he held a great festivity on the occasion of the circumcision of his sons. He sent to all the regions, even the *mudiriyya* of Kordofāl. Its *mudīr*, Rustum Bey *Birinci Muralay*, died on the way before arriving. Likewise all the *kāshifs* and shaykhs were present, and it was a great festivity, the like of which had never been held in the land of the Sūdān.

In the year 1250 [1834-5] [Khūrshīd] proceeded to Kordofāl, and returned in safety. At the end of it he went to Shandī, taking with him the chief judge and the deputy judge to determine the pleas arising between Shaykh Bashīr Aḥmad 'Aqīd [35v] and the

people of the Ja'aliyyūn concerning the cultivable lands which Shaykh Bashīr had appropriated. He sent for all the *mudīrs*, who came from their regions, and an assembly was held at Shandī until the end of Dhu'l-Hijja, which was the end of the year '50 [28 April 1835]; and he ordered the *mudīrs* to proceed to their posts.

On the first day of Muḥarram, the opening of the year '51 [29 April 1835] [Khūrshīd] proceeded to Dūnqula, and the chief judge went with him. The judge returned from Dūnqula, and [Khūrshīd] proceeded to Cairo, and met his Highness the Viceroy, who gave him the rank of *mirmīran*, and ordered him to return to the Sudan as governor-general there. He returned, delighted at the high rank he had obtained. When he reached al-Khurṭūm, he sent for all the *kāshifs*, the *ma'mūrs*, the governors and the shaykhs of *qisms*. They came in fear and alarm that he would demand of them money which they could not pay, as an indemnity for their sons' conscription for the *jihādiyya*. Their fears increased because of his silence, as he did not disclose why he had summoned them. Then he explained to them that it was a matter of the conscription of male slaves for the *jihādiyya*. He released them from the conscription of freemen, and their minds were set at rest.

[Shubayka, p. 30]

On his arrival at al-Khurṭūm, he summoned the *kāshifs*, the *ma'mūrs*, and the shaykhs. They all came, but they trembled for fear that he would demand something intolerable from them, for they had heard about the matter of the *jihādiyya*, and feared for their sons. Their fears increased from his two days' silence while he was closeted with Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir, and was resolved to take the sons of the Arabs for the *jihādiyya*. Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir went over it again with him, fearing that the people would disperse, and the land be laid waste. In the end they concluded to demand the slaves. When his Excellency agreed, he sent for the governors and the shaykhs who had come previously, and released them from the conscription of freemen, requiring especially of them slaves for the *jihādiyya* from every district according to its capacity. Their minds were set at rest; fear was lifted from the people, and they began to supply slaves acceptable for the *jihādiyya*.

In that year the sun was eclipsed after the afternoon prayer, and lost all its light. It was split into two parts by the blackness and so forth, and remained thus until sunset; then it became clear.

In that year [Khūrshīd] set out with his troops for the southern hills, where he obtained many slaves whom he put into the *jihādiyya*. He likewise distributed some of the slaves who were fit to serve as soldiers among the *ma'mūrs*. When he had obtained his object in the hills, and had reached al-Ruṣayrīṣ, he sent Muḥammad Efendi with *jihādiyya* troops to Dār al-'Aṭīsh and its vicinity. In the meantime the Makāda had made a descent with Rajab w. Bashīr. They killed the pious man Walad 'Ārūḍ together with many people, and they killed Walad Ubayyīḍ. When the *jihādiyya* troops reached Dār al-'Aṭīsh, God cast fear into the hearts of those who were assembled there, and there was no fighting. Rajab w. Bashīr was taken prisoner.

The chronicler of this book [i.e. Kātib al-Shūna] mentions that in Qa'da of that year<sup>2</sup> he was dismissed from the service of the Divan. His appointment to serve as clerk began in the year '40 [36r] in Ṣafar [Sept. 1824] as a client of Shaykh Shanbūl w. Madanī, and in the month of Rabī' his name was entered on its roll.

[There follows the account of Kātib al-Shūna's former friends' reaction to his dismissal, and the illustrative anecdote as given in MS. Cairo. See above, pp. 104-5.]

[37v] In that year Muḥammad Efendi was given the rank of *miralay*, and set out with the black troops for the Ḥijāz. And in it died al-Sayyid al-Sharīf Aḥmad, the relative by marriage of Shaykh al-Ṭayyib—God Most High have mercy on him.

[38r] In the year '52 in Ṣafar [May-June 1836] a strong wind blew for two successive days. On the first day it blew red in the afternoon, caused a great darkness, and quickly cleared. On the second day it blew black, darker than before, in the afternoon also, and so it continued until sunset.

And in it great hardship befel the Muslims by reason of the dearth. In it all kinds of grain were lacking. When [Khūrshīd] saw the hardship that had befallen the Muslims, he brought 100 *ardabbs* of durra, his own property, and gave them as alms. Then he brought 100 *ardabbs* from the grain-merchants, and ordered that they should be sold at the current rate, and the price should be paid by the treasury. In all that he helped the people; and he ordered the performance of the prayer for rain, which he attended in person.

And in it the disease known as the Yellow wind struck the people,

<sup>2</sup> Dating unclear. Kātib al-Shūna left government service in Dhu'l-Qa'da 1250/March 1835 (p. 104 above).

and spread through the country. It caused the death of many in the regions and in al-Khurṭūm also. The daily mortality there was reckoned to be 20, 21 or 22, apart from those who got away from it. When the disease was rife throughout the country, [Khūrshīd] proceeded to Shandī, where he stayed awhile, and he returned (God be praised) in good health. He sent Rajab w. Bashīr from Shandī to al-Khurṭūm, where he was impaled in retribution for the foul deeds he committed, even the killing of Walad 'Ārūd.

Among the people of standing who died in that year from that disease were the *faqīh* al-Sanūsī b. al-*faqīh* al-Baqādī, the *faqīh* al-Nakhlī, the reciter of the Holy Qur'ān in the village of al-Baqādī, the *faqīh* Muḥammad b. al-Ḥājj al-Ṭayyib, *imām* of the state mosque in al-Khurṭūm, the *faqīh* Muḥammad 'Alī w. al-'Abbās, the reciter of the Holy Qur'ān, Shaykh al-Ṭirayfī b. al-Shaykh Yūsuf, Shaykh Muḥammad b. al-Shaykh Ḥasan, the *khalīfa* of Walad Bān al-Naqā, Shaykh Sa'd 'Abd al-Fattāḥ al-'Abbādī, who was of a generous character, scrupulous in his Faith and his prayers, a modest man, Shaykh Muṣṭafā, the *khalīfa* of Shaykh Dafa'allāh al-'Arakī, and an uncounted number of others—God have mercy on them all.

In that year [Khūrshīd] demolished the mosque which he had built in the year '45 [1829–30] because it was small; and when he saw the increase of settlement in al-Khurṭūm and the people had become numerous, he razed it to the ground, and built in its place [38v] the present mosque, which is much more spacious than the first one.

In the month of Ramaḍān of that year [Dec. 1836–Jan. 1837] Aḥmad Kāshif Ghashīm, the governor of al-Qaḍārīf, proceeded to one of the districts of the Makāda in which he killed some of them. He captured some, and sent them to al-Khurṭūm.

In that year there appeared a great star at mid-day, and it was observed, and it gave out sparks.

In it also a fever called "the Mother of Seven Days" befell the people. Many died of it, among them the generous man famed for his generosity, Shaykh "Crooked Track", the son of the *faqīh* Barakāt, a descendant of Shaykh Idrīs. It was called "the Mother of Seven" because the majority of those who fell ill died on the seventh day, and whoever survived it recovered.

Then in Muḥarram of the year 1253 [April–May 1837] there arrived Mirliva Şemleli Muṣṭafā Bey as *mudīr* over all the Peninsula of Sinnār; he had previously been in Kordofāl.

In the night of 15 [Muḥarram/21 April 1837] there was an eclipse of the moon, and it was extremely dark for more than two hours.

In [Muḥarram 1253] the Abyssinians descended upon the vicinity of al-Qallābāt, and there was a battle on the 17th of that month [23 April] at a place near Rāshid called Walad Kalanbū. In it there was killed Shaykh Mīrī, the shaykh of al-Qallābāt; and there was killed in it Shaykh Aḥmad 'Abbūd, a cavalryman of the Suwārāb Shāyqiyya, and many of the troops and others. The *binbaşı*, 'Alī Ağa al-Ṣahābī and King Sa'd were captured; then they were released on the next day. It was a famous fight, and the report of it reached Cairo.

In the last part of that year [Khūrshīd] set out on campaign against them with numerous forces, leaving Sulaymān *Kāshif* Abū Dāwūd as his *wakīl* in al-Khurṭūm. In al-Qa'da of that year [Jan.–Feb. 1838] *Mirmiran* Aḥmad Pasha together with Farhād Bey, *miralay* of the *jihādiyya*, came with troops in support of [Khūrshīd]. He set out at once in that direction, and found him returning from the campaign. There had been no fighting in it. They returned together to al-Khurṭūm. They remained there until the beginning of the year '54 [1838–9].

Then in Rabī' I [May–June 1838] orders came to Khūrshīd Pasha with leave to go down to Cairo, while Aḥmad Pasha was to replace him as governor-general in the Sūdān. So he prepared to go down with his household and his wealth.

[Shubayka, p. 32]

That bore hard on the people, and as he said farewell they wept; so that it is said that Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir abstained for two days from eating and drinking out of grief at his departure. His Excellency Aḥmad Pasha heard of the shaykh's distress. He sent for him, and caused him to appear. He promised him every good thing, and talked with him in friendly fashion until his grief ceased. For Khūrshīd Pasha had strongly recommended him to him; and indeed he fulfilled what he had promised him. For he committed all the business of the government to him, and never decided any matter without consulting him. So the shaykh obtained greater respect than a *mudīr*.

Then Aḥmad [39r] Pasha remained as governor-general in the Sūdān from that time forth, and proceeded to manage the government with a resolute mind. He looked into the condition of the



offices, the clerks and the employees, and effected a sequestration on some of them, mulcting them of large sums for the treasury. He mulcted every person who was in debt to the treasury. He regulated the government with the utmost strictness, overlooking nothing and neglecting nothing. He brought to an end the impositions of the troops and sailors on the peasants by forced labour and the commandeering of their beasts for mounts. They were all restrained, and desisted entirely from their impositions for fear of his power. Thereby matters were set right, the subjects lived in complete quiet, prosperity increased, while well-being and cheapness multiplied so that the *ardabb* cost five piastres.<sup>3</sup>

His days were better than the days of his predecessors, even though the days of his predecessors also were good in themselves, and much better than what had gone before. [Their days] brought together the peoples of the Sūdān, gathering them up after the dispersal and scattering which had been occasioned by revolts and dearth. These things were increased by the increased strictness in all the branches of the governor-general's administration from Wādī Ḥalfā to the furthest extent of the government east and west. There was security on the roads; the cattle thrived; the traveller, the rider and the pedestrian went in safety, and God allayed fear in their hearts. Yet he was not given to abuse, nor was he a shedder of blood; but he was dignified and taciturn. His speech was limited to what was useful; his commands and prohibitions were restricted to "Do this!" and "Don't do that!" No-one could answer him back at all. There was such dread in all the branches of the governor-general's administration that although he was in al-Khurṭūm, all the authorities everywhere imagined in their thoughts that he was with them, and acted with every caution. How suitable and appropriate is the saying of the poet:

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<sup>3</sup> Aḥmad Pasha acquired a personal stake in the prosperity of the territory he administered. Shubayka, *Ta'rikh*, Notes, 33/3 (p. 27), states that he held two *ib'ādīyyas* (estates of land brought under cultivation) at al-Kamlīn and al-Tamāniyyāt respectively. The descendants of his agent at al-Kamlīn, Nūr al-Dīn Efendi, had preserved the register of the estate, which in addition to land comprised establishments for the production of indigo, soap, sugar, alcohol and oil. An account of the place, written in 1844, a few years after Aḥmad Pasha's death, is given by the German archaologist, Richard Lepsius (*Discoveries in Egypt, Ethiopia, and the Peninsula of Sinai*, 173-4). He describes Nūr al-Dīn Efendi as "a Catholic Koptic Egyptian, who has gone over to Islam," (cf. pp. 109, 111). Lepsius found two compatriots in "A simple, honest, un-Oriental German, named Bauer, [who] has erected a soap and brandy factory, which he himself conducts", and Bauer's housekeeper, named Ursula.

"When a king dwells in Damascus, the recollection of him journeys far east and west."

He dwelt awhile in al-Khurṭūm, and regulated the provinces. Then he set out for Walad Madanī, and left such as 'Abd al-Qādir Aḡa as his *wakīl* in al-Khurṭūm. During his absence there in Ramaḍān of that year [Nov.-Dec. 1838] the country was honoured [39v] by our lord, his Highness al-Ḥājj Muḥammad 'Alī Pasha. He entered al-Khurṭūm in that month, and honour upon honour increased on the land. The governor-general came before him, and had the honour of an audience with his Highness in al-Khurṭūm. After the coming of the governor-general, he sought permission for his Excellency the judge, the *muftī* and the '*ulamā*' to have the honour of an audience with his Highness. Permission was granted, and they had the honour of an audience with his Highness. He greeted and honoured them, and bade them sit before him as an honour to them.

Then his Highness set out for the region of the hills, the hills of Fāzūghlī, accompanied by the governor-general. He arrived there, and inspected the workings of the mine.

[Shubayka, p. 33]

There Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir w. al-Shaykh al-Zayn, Shaykh Idrīs 'Adlān, Shaykh Aḥmad Abū Sinn, and all the shaykhs of the nomads and the villages presented themselves and had an audience with him according to their ranks. His Excellency the governor-general sat in front of him, informing him of their posts one by one. After their departure he ordered them to be honoured by investiture with splendid robes according to their ranks.

He remained there for a while; then he returned to al-Khurṭūm, which he honoured by a few days' stay in al-Ḥijja, the end of that year [Feb.-March 1839]. Thence he set out for Cairo, and his Excellency the governor-general remained in the region of the hills until the beginning of the year '55 [1839-40].

In the early part of it he returned to al-Khurṭūm, and thence proceeded to Dunqula. On his return when he arrived at Shandī, he heard of the flight of Ḥamad, the king's son. He set off after him with his troops accompanied by King Kanbāl. In that year King Kanbāl was killed. Then [Aḥmad Pasha] returned to al-Khurṭūm in that year.

On 4 Shawwāl of that year [11 Dec. 1839] there passed away to

the mercy of God Most High the scholar al-Sayyid Muḥammad al-Bulaydī the *muftī*.

Then in the year '56 [1840–41] [Aḥmad Pasha] set out for the district of al-Tāka accompanied by the *jihādiyya* troops and irregular cavalry, Maghāriba and Shāyqiyya. He stayed there for a while until they submitted to him. He constituted it a province, and appointed Kirkūtli 'Umar *Kāshif* as *mudīr*.

[Shubayka, p. 33]

Then he set off for al-Tāka accompanied by the *Arbāb* Muḥammad Dafa'allāh, Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir and Shaykh Aḥmad Abū Sinn.

In that year there was a very high Nile, and there died the provincial *wakīl*, Aḥmad Hāshim. In it Şemleli *Mirlīwa* Muṣṭafā Bey, the *mudīr* of al-Khurṭūm, returned from the region of Kordofāl to al-Khurṭūm. He was sick, and passed away to the mercy of God Most High. When [Aḥmad Pasha] returned from the campaign in al-Tāka, he found that the *mudīr* had passed away to the mercy of God. He appointed in his place his Honour Mūsā Bey as *miralay* and *mudīr*-general [40r] of the Peninsula, where he remained *mudīr* throughout the lifetime of the late Aḥmad Pasha.

The governor-general gave himself no rest, but never ceased going to and fro through all parts of the governor-generalship, now in the hills and now in the districts of Kordofāl and the region of Taqālī, until he returned to al-Khurṭūm in the year '57 [1841–2]. In Ramaḍān [Oct.–Nov. 1841] he passed away to the mercy of God Most High.<sup>4</sup> From the time of his death the authority of the governor-generalship declined, and its system fell into disorder because of its division into seven provinces. A *mirlīwa* was placed in each province as *mudīr*.

At the end of that year Menikli Aḥmad Pasha came to reorganise

<sup>4</sup> Shubayka, *Ta'rikh*, Notes, 33/3 (pp. 26–7), describes the rumours that circulated at the time of Aḥmad Pasha's death. It was said that he sought to separate the Sudan from Egypt, either as an independent state or as an autonomous Ottoman dependency. The archives provide evidence of Muḥammad 'Alī Pasha's apprehensions as the governor-general procrastinated in response to an order to return to Egypt. It is said that he was poisoned, either by an emissary of the viceroy, or by his own wife in collusion with Muḥammad 'Alī. The abolition of the governor-generalship after his death was thus a precaution against any other over-mighty subject.

matters, but there was nothing in order for him, nor were matters aright for him as they had been in the days of the strong governor-general. For every *mudir* concerned himself with the affairs of his province, and did not subordinate himself to that setter in order. The setter in order stayed for a while in al-Khurṭūm. Then he set off for al-Tāka, took a number thence, brought them to al-Khurṭūm with his retinue, and beheaded them all. The reorganizer in al-Khurṭūm until he set off for Cairo in the last part of the year '61 [late 1845], and Khālīd Pasha was appointed in his place!

[Shubayka, p. 34]

Then [Meniklī Aḥmad Pasha] set off for Cairo, and took with him as companions the *Arbāb* Muḥammad Dafa'allāh and Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir w. al-Shaykh al-Zayn. After their arrival in Cairo, he informed our late lord al-Ḥājj Muḥammad 'Alī Pasha of them. They received every consideration, and he ordered that they should be lodged in the guest-house with the fullest honour. Three days later he sent for them for the honour of an audience, and spoke to them without an intermediary. Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir answered him in a speech in purest Arabic without any confusion or solecism. Our lord was delighted and astonished at the existence of such an unusual person in an incompletely civilized land. He ordered him to receive the order of a *miralay* set in jewels, and he ordered the master of ceremonies himself to be with them, and to show them all the government departments. So they saw Cairo, Alexandria and everywhere else. Finally he appointed his Excellency Khālīd Pasha as governor-general, and commended him to them.

Khālīd Pasha came in Muḥarram at the beginning of the year '62 [Jan. 1846]. With him came Shaykh Ibrāhīm al-Haytamī as judge over the Sūdān generally. [Khālīd Pasha] resided for a while in al-Khurṭūm; then he travelled without ceasing to all parts of the governor-generalship, now to al-Tāka, now to the hills of Fāzūghlī and the mine, and now to the region of Kordofāl and Shaybūn. He continued to govern, effectively commanding and forbidding, until the year '66, when 'Abd al-Laṭīf Pasha was appointed governor-general in the Sūdān in his place. That was in Rabi' II of that year [Feb.-March 1850], when Khālīd Pasha set off for Cairo, and 'Abd al-Laṭīf Pasha remained in al-Khurṭūm.

[Shubayka, p. 34]

Then Khālīd Pasha went down to Cairo after 'Abd al-Laṭīf Pasha had mulcted him.<sup>5</sup> There were many complaints about him; and if Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir had not undertaken to restrain the people from him, they would not have left him anything.

In the days when ['Abd al-Laṭīf Pasha] came there were numerous complaints and pleas in unlimited petitions, and he did not occupy himself with anything but the numerous complaints and pleas. He also occupied himself with the building of the governor-general's residence. He arranged it, and built it in its present form.

In his days Rifā'a Bey<sup>6</sup> came as inspector [40v] of schools together with *Kaymakam* Bayyūmī Efendi and other efendis and *khawājas*. The governor-general remained in residence in al-Khurṭūm, and did not go out to any part of the governor-generalship, until he was dismissed.

[Shubayka, p. 34]

Nothing fresh occurred apart from the dismissal of Idrīs w. 'Adlān from the position of shaykh of the hills, and the appointment of his paternal nephew 'Adlān w. Muḥammad. Also the episode concerning Ḥasan Musmārī, the tax-farmer of the Customs, who was beaten, imprisoned, and mulcted. Also the dismissal of Ḥasan Khalīfa al-'Aḥbādī, the tax-farmer of the route across the desert of Abū Ḥamad; and the appointment of his brother Ḥusayn Khalīfa as shaykh. Also the giving to Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir of the post of *mu'āwin* to the governor-general, in addition to that of paramount shaykh generally in the Peninsula.<sup>7</sup> He was regarded with the greatest respect, and Shaykh Aḥmad Abū Sinn likewise.

<sup>5</sup> Shubayka, *Ta'rikh*, Notes 34/2 (pp. 28–9), gives the text of a resolution by the Privy Council of 'Abbās Pasha, the new viceroy, dated 21 Dhu'l-Ḥijja 1265/7 Nov. 1849, and recommending the replacement of Khālīd Pasha by 'Abd al-Laṭīf Pasha. A letter from the viceroy to the new governor-general, dated 12 Jumādā II 1266/27 April 1850, acknowledges a letter from 'Abd al-Laṭīf Pasha stating that 1,000 purses (i.e. 500,000 piastres) in cash had been levied from his predecessor, and transmitted to the state treasury.

<sup>6</sup> Rifā'a Badawī Rāfi' al-Ṭaḥṭāwī (1801–73) played a leading part in the transmission of Western culture and ideas to Egypt, and enjoyed the favour of Muḥammad 'Alī Pasha. His posting to al-Khurṭūm (1850–4) was a virtual exile, as he seems to have displeased the new viceroy, 'Abbās Pasha. See K. Öhrnberg, RIFA'A BEY AL-ṬAḤṬAWI, EI2, VIII, 523–4; Albert Hourani, *Arabic thought in the liberal age*, London, 1962, 68–83.

<sup>7</sup> Shubayka, *Ta'rikh*, Notes, 34/1 (p. 28), gives the text of a viceregal decree issued on 6 Dhu'l-Ḥijja 1261/6 Dec. 1845 at the request of Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir,



Rustum Pasha came as governor-general in the Sūdān, and 'Abd al-Laṭīf Pasha proceeded to Cairo.<sup>8</sup> Rustum Pasha remained as governor-general after him, and in his days there came the members of the Council, Mihrī Bey and those with him. The governor-general's term of office was not prolonged, but he resided in al-Khurṭūm for a few days, proceeded to Walad Madanī, and returned thence a sick man. He died in al-Khurṭūm in the year '68 [1851-2].

In Ramaḍān of that year [June-July 1852] Ismā'īl Pasha Abū Jabal was appointed governor-general in his place. He came to al-Khurṭūm, and remained there for a while. Then he proceeded to the district of Khashm al-Baḥr, and thence to the eastern districts. He went around those districts, and then returned to al-Khurṭūm. He remained there for a while until he was dismissed in Sha'bān of the year '69 [May-June 1853].

Salīm Pasha was appointed in his place as governor-general in the Sūdān. He remained in residence in al-Khurṭūm as an invalid until he was dismissed at the end of Jumādā I of the year '70 [24 June 1853].

Sirrī 'Alī Pasha Arnavud was appointed in his place as governor-general in the Sūdān. He remained there until he was dismissed in Jumādā II of the year '71 [Feb.-March 1855].<sup>9</sup>

Çerkes 'Alī Pasha was appointed in his place. He came to al-Khurṭūm, and resided there for a while. In his time his Highness our lord Ḥalīm Pasha honoured the country.<sup>10</sup> He did not stay long in the Sūdān, but after honouring al-Khurṭūm with some days' residence, he set off for the White Nile. While he was on his way there, the epidemic of the Yellow Wind broke out, causing innumerable

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to Salīm Pasha, *mudīr* of al-Khurṭūm, Sulaymān 'Pasha, *mudīr* of the Sinnār region, and others, confirming 'Abd al-Qādir's functions as paramount shaykh of the Peninsula of Sinnār: "He has the administration of the natives in what concerns their affairs, and the payment of their dues to the treasury."

<sup>8</sup> Shubayka, *Ta'rikh*, Notes, 35/1 (pp. 28-9), states that 'Abd al-Laṭīf Pasha was recalled to Cairo as a result of the complaints of the consuls and foreign merchants in al-Khurṭūm. He had imposed an artificially high price on gum, and savagely punished peasants who sold it at a lower price.

<sup>9</sup> Shubayka, *Ta'rikh*, Notes, 35/1 (p. 30), states that the members of the Council (*majlis*) of al-Khurṭūm, under the presidency of Muḥammad Mihrī Bey, submitted a complaint dated 3 Šafar 1271/26 Oct. 1854, alleging the governor-general's systematic extortion of bribes. A list of his victims and their payments was produced after his dismissal.

<sup>10</sup> 'Abd al-Ḥalīm Pasha, a son of Muḥammad 'Alī Pasha, was actually appointed governor-general of the Sudan at his own request by a decree dated 12 Rabī' I 1272/2 Nov. 1855.

deaths. When his Highness returned from the White Nile, he did not stay in al-Khurṭūm, but left for Barbar. Then he proceeded to Cairo in good health.

Çerkes 'Alī Pasha remained as governor-general in the Sūdān until our lord Muḥammad [41r] Sa'īd Pasha honoured the country in the year '73 [1856-7]. He stayed for a few days in al-Khurṭūm, and thence he proceeded to Cairo by way of Dunqula. He appointed Arākīl Bey as *mudīr* of al-Khurṭūm and the Peninsula of Sinnār generally. That was on 16 Rabī' II of the months of that year [14 Dec. 1856].

[Shubayka, p. 35]

During [Çerkes 'Alī's] days his Highness our lord 'Abd al-Ḥalīm Pasha honoured the country. He did not stay long in al-Khurṭūm, as the disease of cholera, known as the Yellow Wind, broke out, and it is called the *diarrhoea*. When the disease was at its height in Rajab 1272 [March-April 1856], the doctors advised a change of air for him, so he went by boat to the White Nile, and returned thence to Barbar without disembarking at al-Khurṭūm. Thence he proceeded to Cairo.

After that disease had destroyed many people, it spread to all the land of the Sūdān. Among the notables who died there was Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir w. al-Shaykh al-Zayn, the paramount shaykh of the Peninsula of al-Khurṭūm and Sinnār, who was one of the great magnates. He died and was buried in al-Khurṭūm, and his burial was attended by all the prominent aristocrats of the town, his Excellency the governor-general, and the deputy governor-general. There died Shaykh Yāsīn, the shaykh of the province of Kordofān, who was one of the great magnates, Shaykh al-Ṭirayfī b. al-Shaykh Aḥmad al-Rayyāḥ al-'Arakī, and the *faqīh* 'Umar w. Baqādī, the famous scholar, and many of the aristocracy.

As for his Excellency 'Alī Pasha Çerkes; after the departure of his Highness our lord 'Abd al-Ḥalīm Pasha, he continued as governor-general until the arrival of our lord Muḥammad Sa'īd Pasha from Egypt in the year 1273. His stay in al-Khurṭūm was brief, and his return was on the following day. He caused the dismissal of the governor-general,<sup>11</sup> and appointed instead of him Arākīl Bey

<sup>11</sup> In fact the viceroy was returning to the system of decentralization which had been instituted by Muḥammad 'Alī Pasha after the death of Aḥmad Pasha (p. 189 and n. 220 above). Shubayka, *Tārīkh*, Notes, 35/4 (p. 31), cites Muḥammad Sa'īd's order to the governor-general, dated 2 Jumādā II 1273/28 Jan. 1857: "Inasmuch as according to the arrangements which We have put into effect in the regions of

al-Armanī as *mudīr* of the Peninsula of Sinnār and al-Khurṭūm generally. That was on 16 Rabīʿ II of the months of that year.

[Arākīl Bey] remained as *mudīr* there until he expired in Ṣafar of the year '75 [Sept.–Oct. 1858]. He displayed a good understanding of political management, and he was of a kindly disposition towards the subject people.

[Shubayka, pp. 35–6]

At the start matters were kept in order for him because of his delegation of power to Shaykh al-Zubayr w. al-Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir, who was appointed instead of his father, Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir. He remained with him in charge of the affairs of the shaykhs and the natives, serving as intermediary between him and them, until trouble-makers interfered and came between them. Al-Zubayr fled to Cairo, and remained there as *mu'āwin* in the Department of the Interior. The *mudīr* went on in his arbitrary way without consulting any of the members of the old families whom the natives of the Sūdān trusted. Most of the shaykhs dispersed, hating to meet him. Some of them sought refuge in the hills until Ḥasan Bey Salāmī al-Jarkasī was appointed *mudīr* instead.

Ḥasan Bey was appointed in his place as *mudīr* of al-Khurṭūm and the Peninsula generally. That was in Rajab of that year [1275/Feb.–March 1859]. He remained there as *mudīr* there until he was dismissed in Muḥarram '78 [July–Aug. 1861]. He was virtuous, and he did not stretch out his hand to take anything from the subject people, this being his custom and character.

Muḥammad Rāsikh Bey was appointed in his place, beginning on 21 of that Muḥarram [29 July 1861]. He entered al-Khurṭūm in Ṣafar of that year [Aug.–Sept. 1861], and resided there cheerfully and with good fortune. He concerned himself with nothing except the construction of the palace which he built on the bank of the River Nile on the eastern side facing the governor-general's palace. He was the last of the *mudīrs* who were solely administrators of the province of al-Khurṭūm and the Peninsula. But we have not given a prolix account of them, or of the governors-general who were

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the Sudan, and We have issued Our orders concerning them to the *mudīrs*, every province shall stand upon its own, and shall transmit its accounts to Egypt. Thus the continuance of the governor-general's *Divan* is no longer required."

appointed after the late Aḥmad Pasha, for no famous exploits or renowned events were associated with them; rather we have been content simply to enumerate them and list their names, for the power of the governor-generalship and the right management of its business closed with the period of the late Aḥmad Pasha. Likewise the period of the late judge al-Salāwī brought to a close the judges who were respected throughout the whole dependent territory. After him decline set in, regard diminished, authority was rejected, and the judges existed only in name, as may now be seen.

Rāsikh Bey continued to be *mudīr* in al-Khurṭūm until the good news arrived of the appointment of his Excellency Mūsā Pasha as governor-general in the Sūdān.<sup>12</sup> The subject people rejoiced at that, being convinced that they would obtain [41v] ease and security.

His Excellency arrived on 4 Safar of the year '79 [1 Aug. 1862]. All were happy and cheerful at the coming of his Excellency. Splendour returned to the governor-generalship after it had been absent and extinguished. A few days after his Excellency's arrival the vice-regal rescript was read publicly in the presence of a great crowd of high and low.

Then after that he sent to every provincial *mudīr* to come in person with the shaykhs and notables of his province. Every *mudīr* came with the shaykhs, the notables and the shaykhs of the nomads. After they were all in place in al-Khurṭūm, the governor-general made a good settlement, and fixed the taxation as he correctly judged in a way which would avoid harm to the subject people. Every peasant was to receive a certificate of what was due from him. He ordered that each instalment paid in by the peasant should be paid to the treasurer of his district appointed to receive taxes; and that the amount which he paid in should be entered on the certificate in his possession, and recorded in the treasurer's day-book. He appointed inspectors from among the people so that they should be civilized and brought into social life, and he ordered them to wear Turkish dress. His Excellency acted out of sympathy for the subject people and to safeguard the state finances. In this way the situation improved, and the payment of taxes became easier. May God preserve him, and increase his prosperity and honour!

<sup>12</sup> Mūsā Ḥamdī Pasha was appointed by a decree of Ismā'īl Pasha (as deputy for the dying viceroy, Muḥammad Sa'īd), dated 8 Dhu'l-Qa'da 1278/27 April 1862: Shubayka, *Ta'rikh*, Notes, 36/3 (p. 32).

[Shubayka, pp. 36-7]

Every peasant was to receive a certificate of what was due from him, and [Mūsā Pasha] specified known times for the collection of the taxes in three instalments a year. He ordered that everything of the respective instalment brought in by the peasant should be paid into the hand of the district treasurer appointed to collect taxes; and that the amount which he brought in should be entered on the certificate in his possession, and recorded in the treasurer's day-book.

He appointed inspectors of districts and administrative officials from the people, as had previously been the case. As their inspector-general he appointed al-Zubayr 'Abd al-Qādir, who was the paramount shaykh. All this was so that they would be civilized, and be integrated into the human community. He ordered them and the clerks to wear Turkish dress. So by means of his praiseworthy ideas the situation improved, and the payment of taxes became easier.

Then after the *mudīrs* had departed, each to his province, with an understanding of the arrangements, he turned his high attention to campaigning. So he set out on the second day of Jumādā II of that year [1279/25 Nov. 1862] accompanied by *Miralay* Hasan Bey with all the *jihādiyya* troops. He stopped for some days at Walad Madanī until all the troops had mustered, *jihādiyya*, irregular cavalry, troops of the Shāyqiyya and others. His Excellency proceeded to the frontiers of the government and the borders of the Abyssinians with the implements of war. When he reached [42r] the borders of their country, the Abyssinians, hearing that he had come with a great army which they could not face, fled to the utmost parts of their land in fear of his power.

Then when his Excellency perceived the flight of the Abyssinians, and their reinforcement by fleeing, he diverted his attention to the fugitives and those who had withdrawn from the country, and were dwelling in the borders of the Abyssinians, such as Shaykh Abū Jinn, the shaykh of the nomad Rufā'a on the east bank. He sent for him and all those who had withdrawn with him, and they were many thousands. He gave them an amnesty, and sent them back to their country. Then after that he went to the region of al-Qallābāt, and sent some of the irregular cavalry and the Shāyqiyya troops against Awlād al-Nīmr. They drove them from the place where they were



living, and laid the place waste. [Awlād al-Nimr] themselves escaped, and their power was broken. Then his Excellency proceeded to al-Tāka, where he remained for a time, and looked into its condition as the situation of the government required.

During his stay there, his Excellency received the viceregal rescript to appoint his Honour Aḥmad Bey Abū Sinn as *mudīr* of al-Khurṭūm and the Peninsula of Sinnār generally, in accordance with his Excellency's report concerning him and testifying to his complete loyalty, understanding, competence and suitability for this high rank.<sup>13</sup> On the appointment of this bey, Rāsikh Bey was removed from the province. His Excellency the governor-general, having achieved his end in al-Tāka, travelled thence to al-Khurṭūm.

His Excellency arrived on 22 al-Qa'da of that year [1279/11 May 1863]. A few days after his Excellency's arrival in al-Khurṭūm, he received the high sultanic decree for the eminent rank of *ferik*. The country, the markets and the governments were splendidly illuminated. The high decree was read to the immense pleasure of the troops and all the people. May God Most High preserve him in the utmost glory all his days and nights!

Then his Excellency resided in the capital of his government until 23 Muḥarram, the beginning of the year '80 [10 July 1863]. He proceeded to Cairo for an audience with his Highness our lord Ismā'īl Pasha—may God preserve him: [42v] Amen. When he reached Cairo he had an audience with his Highness our lord Ismā'īl Pasha—may God prolong his days and protect his state. Thereby he received honour, approval and assistance by attaining his desires and hopes of all the favours which he requested, sought and wished for those who came with him by the granting of ranks. So they were awarded them, and by his outstanding zeal they attained their utmost fortune and desire. Likewise he requested for other notables dwelling in this borderland that they should be given ranks so that they should obtain abundant regard and honour. All that he sought, desired [?], craved and wished met with compliance. Everyone of them was raised in rank and increased in standing according to the status of everyone. Finally, his whole career continued to be praiseworthy. He did not abandon works of charity and beneficence, He endeavoured only to bring well-being, ease and happiness.

<sup>13</sup> See Appendix III (h).

After achieving all that he had sought from his Highness, he turned his intention to returning to the capital of his government, clothed in the robes of honour and lordship. He entered the fortunate palace in the morning of Friday, the eighth of the present month, which is Jumādā II of the year '80 [20 Nov. 1863]. There was abundant joy and pleasure to all the people. May God (praised be He) extend to him length of years, ease of life and abundant glory for the honour of the Lord of Mankind, on whom be the best of prayers and the purest of peace.

## 5. CONCLUSION BY AL-AMĪN MUḤAMMAD AL-ḌARĪR TO FINAL RECENSION

[Conclusion of chronicle in Shubayka's text, pp. 37–9]

Then what is good to establish and collect, what fills the heart with the love of writing it, is the conclusion of this record with some appropriate and brief words referring to the successor of this governor-general.

So I say—and with God is success and guidance to the most direct way—that it is evident as regards his Excellency Ja'far Maẓhar Pasha, who was renowned for equity and justice so that all friends acknowledge his equity, that he came from Egypt in the year 1282 of this century [1865–66] as deputy to Ja'far Ṣādiq Pasha, who came with him as governor-general of the whole of the Sūdān at that time.

On coming from Cairo, the deputy proceeded to the province of al-Tāka to inspect its condition, which would take long to describe in detail. He set right the corruption caused by the nefarious acts of the self-seeking, which had kindled the fires of revolt<sup>1</sup> where those corrupters lorded it. When his Excellency who was relied on to extinguish the flame arrived, he whose life was to be spared made peace with him, and he whose death-struggle was in sight opposed him. He waged his campaigns against them with horse and foot, and cunning achieved nothing except among its own people. He wielded among the corrupters the sword of khedivial equity, until the earth was purified of the filth of the rebels. Thereby he delighted the settled people and the nomads, and calmed the hearts of everyone.

After that he proceeded to al-Khurṭūm, the centre of the government, and on his arrival he was apprised of the dismissal of the governor-general Ja'far Pasha Ṣādiq, and of his own appointment in his place by the viceregal rescript sent to him. He was granted by it extensive freedom of action, and the extension of his government

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<sup>1</sup> The fires of revolt: a veiled reference to the mutiny of the black *jihādiyya* at Kasala in 1281/1865. See Appendix IV.

to include Sawākin, Maṣawwa' and elsewhere,<sup>2</sup> inasmuch as he was judged to be suitable.

He entered al-Khurṭūm in the evening of [38] Tuesday, 17 Shawwāl of that year [1282/5 March-1866]; and on Wednesday, the day after his entry, the viceregal rescript was read in the presence of a great crowd of 'ulamā', high officials and other holders of positions and power. Then after the poets, the people entered to greet him according to their ranks. This was in the presence of the former governor-general and his Excellency Shāhīn Pasha, who had previously come to organize conditions in the country of the Sūdān as personal representative of his Highness the Khedive of Egypt. There were presented to his Excellency Ja'far Pasha those who came in to him one after another, especially the eminent 'ulamā' and the men of religion, being the preachers and the imāms. He received them most graciously as was his custom, previously, subsequently and always. He bestowed fine robes of honour on the 'ulamā' and those connected with them, the members of the council. They expressed their thanks to him, and their devotion to the khedive of Egypt. On that day he appointed 'Alī Bey Faḍlī as his deputy governor-general. When these 'ulamā' left, they went to the deputy to congratulate him upon his appointment.

In the following year, i.e. 1283 [1866-7] his Excellency returned to Cairo at the request of his Highness the Khedive. He sent him thence to the region of Maṣawwa' and the Red Sea to make certain investigations there. He travelled by sea, and on the way he sent to his Honour Shaykh al-Amīn Rayyis *mumayyiz* 'ulamā' al-Sūdān<sup>3</sup> a valuable book, *Safīnat Rāghib Pasha*, with a letter from him accompanying that book, in which he told him of the pleasant information it contained. He returned from that journey to Cairo, and thence he returned to the centre of his government in the Sudanese regions. That was in the year 1284 [1867-8], and his Honour Rayyis 'ulamā' al-Sūdān described his coming, the year of his return to Cairo, and the year of his coming thence in an ode he sent to him with his

<sup>2</sup> This extension of government was consequent on the cession of Sawākin and Maṣawwa' to Egypt by the Ottoman government in 1865.

<sup>3</sup> Al-Amīn Muḥammad al-Ḍarīr (d. 1885) was a leading Sudanese religious notable who received the apparently unique title of *ra'īs wa-mumayyiz* 'ulamā' al-Sūdān (chief and rapporteur of the 'ulamā' of the Sudan). He subsequently wrote a manifesto controverting the claim of Muḥammad Aḥmad to be the Expected Mahdī.

Honour Nādī Bey, who<sup>f</sup> was *Mu'āwin Awwal* to the governor-general. The chronicler of the three years says in two verses:—

[Two verses and the explanation of a word used by the poet follow.]

Then he resided in al-Khurṭūm, and went out only to acquaint himself with the provinces, to give rest to the subject people, and to deal quickly with their petitions.

As regards his humility, which is referred to in the first verse, there are many well-known tales of it, and that is the strongest proof of his goodness of heart. As for his generosity, talk of it would fill the sea, especially of what took place in all the nights of Ramaḍān. Every night he would invite a group to break their fast with him until every group in al-Khurṭūm was included. This is testified by everyone who associated with him, from both the upper and the lower classes. As for his religion, his compliance with what is right, and his enquiries about the obscure passages of the Sunna and the Book, it [39] is too well known to mention, too exalted to restrict, and none could inform you like an expert who learnt the minutiae from him.

Thus he continued, ever advancing, until the Sudanese lands were distressed by his journey, and the religious '*ulamā*' were stricken by the loss of his fruit. His departure was on 8 Jumādā I of the year 1288 [26 July 1871]. Shortly afterwards the news of his most grievous dismissal reached the subject people, and sorrow greater than before fell on them, for they had not known anyone in all the governors before him who approached him in his qualities earlier described. While they were distracting themselves with "perhaps" and "maybe", and urging the people to hold on to the lifeline of hope, a heavier calamity befell them, and an inexorable misfortune struck them (for what had gone before was a trifle) by the coming of distress upon them. It was a great earthquake, the like of which had never been known in al-Khurṭūm and its vicinity, in the month of Rajab [Sept.–Oct. 1871].

That was the appointment of one who was the opposite of his

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<sup>f</sup> Like his name Distinguished: The reference is to Aḥmad Mumtāz Pasha, and is a play on his name, *mumtāz* meaning "distinguished", although not usually in a pejorative sense as here. Aḥmad Mumtāz was the first *mudīr* of Sawākin after its cession to Egypt in 1865, and in 1870 his jurisdiction was extended to include al-Tāka, Maṣawwa' and the Somali coast. His incompatibility with the governor-general, Ja'far Maḥzar Pasha, led to the latter's recall, and the suppression of his



predecessor in all his qualities, for he was like his name Distinguished<sup>4</sup> from him in every aspect. For his condition resembled those of whom God has spoken in His Concealed Book, "And be distinguished on this day, ye evildoers!"<sup>5</sup>

This replacement who changed and replaced entered on 2 Ramaḍān of this year [15 Nov. 1871]. He terrorized the people from the day of his entry by his general oppression, the like of which in sum or detail had not been seen before from any of the governors who had preceded him. The pages of the record-books are blackened by it, and the tender-hearted weeps at the raising of the veils. Therefore we have reined ourselves back from giving details, and we have deemed that a summary concerning him is better than a long account, in order to veil his infamous deeds and dissemble his evil qualities. In sum, whoever wishes to peruse the careers of these two opposites, and to make the acquaintance of these two mutually opposed governors, and the chronicles of their acts, their journeys and their abiding, let him study the state archives for they vouch freely for all of it.

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post. Mumtāz then became governor of the so-called Southern Sudan consisting of the combined provinces of al-Khurṭūm, Sinnār and the White Nile. In 1872, less than a year later, he was accused of financial irregularities, was dismissed, and died shortly afterwards. Hill, *Biographical dictionary*, 37-8, and *Egypt in the Sudan*, 114-19, give a more favourable view of Mumtāz, and Shubayka, *Tārīkh*, Notes, 39/1 (p. 33) speaks well of his enthusiasm for agriculture.

<sup>5</sup> Qur'ān: Sūrat Yā Sīn; 36:59.

## APPENDIX I

### INTRODUCTIONS TO THE FIRST AND SECOND RECENSIONS OF THE FUNJ CHRONICLE

A. *Al-Zubayr w. Dawwah's Introduction; MS. Paris, ff. 1v-6r*

Let us begin with what is in the *Ṭabaqāt* of the pious saint, the perfect one, the scholar, the virtuous in action, the *faqīh* Muḥammad Nūr Dayfallāh al-Ḥalfāwī. I shall recount something of the saints whose sanctity was manifest in the period of the Funj, and acquire *baraka* by them. That *faqīh* spoke of their miracles in his famous *Ṭabaqāt*, which is devoted to the saints of the Sūdān (may God cause us to profit by them. Amen).

Know that the Funj gained domination over the land of the Blacks [*bilād al-Sūdān*], and took it from the possession of the Nubians, who were the 'Anaj, who were the kings of 'Alwa, which is the town of Sōba.

It was on the east of the great peninsula which is between the two Niles, the White and the Green, on its northern edge at their confluence. In it were fine buildings, spacious dwellings, churches with much gold, and gardens. In it was a hospice, wherein was a company of Muslims. Their chief cereal was white millet like rice, of which was their bread. They had abundant meat because of the abundance of their livestock, and the wide and spacious prairies. Their religion was Christianity, and their bishops were from the patriarch of Alexandria, like the Nubians. Their books were in Greek, which they interpreted in their own language.<sup>1</sup>

They gained domination over it at the beginning of the tenth century [1495]; and they drove them out from it to the region of the hills of the south. The town of Sinnār was laid out; King 'Amāra Dūnqas laid it out, and he was the first of the kings, in the year 910 [1504-5]. The town of Arbajī was laid out thirty years previously; a man called Ḥijāzī laid it out.

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<sup>1</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Khīṭaṭ*, I, 193 (from *Dhikr tasha'ub al-Nīl* with some omissions).

That chronicler says that no school of [religious] science or of the Qur'ān was known in that period; and it is said that a man would divorce his wife, and another marry her on the same day without an *'idda*, until Shaykh Maḥmūd al-'Arakī came from Egypt, and taught people the rules of the *'idda*, for he had learned [religious] science from al-Nāṣir al-Laqqānī and his brother Shams al-Dīn. He lived on the White Nile, and built himself a stronghold known as the Stronghold of Maḥmūd, situated between Alays and the Ḥassāniyya; and there he died.

I say that the chronicler's statement that in that period no school of [religious] science or of the Qur'ān was known etc. until the coming of Shaykh Maḥmūd, may be so in that region, i.e. the region of the White Nile. As for the eastern region, in it there were Awlād 'Awnallāh, who were seven men in the period of the 'Anaj, i.e. the Nubians. One of them called al-Ḍarīr was a judge in the period of the 'Anaj before the period of the Funj, and their tombs are to be seen in the neighbourhood of Walad Abī Ḥalīma. The famous Shaykh Idrīs was born in the year 913 [1507–8]. He studied the Qur'ān with Walad Bandār[ī] in front of al-Ḥalfāya, and the coming of Maḥmūd was after that. Also in the caliphate of Hārūn al-Rashīd, a company came to him from the land of the Sūdān when he was in Baghdad, and asked him to send '*ulamā*' with them to teach them religious matters. So he sent seven 'Abbasid '*ulamā*' with them. They reached Dunqula and settled there, and a numerous progeny is descended from them.<sup>2</sup>

So how can the chronicler say that no school of [religious] science or of the Qur'ān was known before Maḥmūd, while Awlād 'Awnallāh were before the Funj? Shaykh Idrīs found them entombed, and he was not a contemporary of any of them. Shaykh al-Bandārī, who taught him the Qur'ān, was of Syrian origin. He was a pious man, and he even said to Shaykh Idrīs's father, "Your son will attain great importance," and so it was. All this was before the coming of Maḥmūd. Likewise Shaykh Aḥmad w. Zarrūq came from the Yemēn; he was a *sharīf* from the people of Ḥaḍramawt. He was in the time of Shaykh al-Bandārī, the shaykh of Shaykh Idrīs is the writing school, and there was affection and fraternal feeling between them. Thus the shaykh studied under him, and he bore witness to his high destiny.

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<sup>2</sup> I have failed to trace the source of this legend, which appears to have no historical basis.

We have mentioned this only because the Chronicler had not studied the chronicles of the land of the Nubians, and the events there in peace and war. We shall mention them, and we say:—

[Excerpts are then given from al-Maqrīzī, *Khūṭaṭ*, as follows:—

I, 200; Dhikr al-baqt;

I, 195; Dhikr al-Buja;

I, 198; Dhikr madīnat Aswān.]

This is what information there is about the Nubians. We mention it only because the author of this Chronicle did not give attention to it as he restricted his Chronicle to the period of the Funj. We have mentioned it to complete its utility.

Let us return to the account given by the author of the Chronicle, and to his purpose in assembling it, concerning the beginning of the settlement of Sinnār, its kings and their careers, and what happened in the days of each of them. But it is not organized; matters are anticipated and retarded, changed and altered, as he himself says at the beginning of his book. In particular, he writes in colloquial Arabic not in pure Arabic, and I shall (God Most High willing) improve the expressions as far as possible, and cause them to flow in a generally acceptable manner.

I say (God aiding me) that the first of the kings of the Funj was ‘Amāra Dūnqas. At the very outset of his matter there was a company gathered together, and dwelling in a place called Lūlū. They dwelt there for a time, and continually increased in number. Then they migrated to the well-known Jabal Mōya, and dwelt there for a time. A report reached them that a slave-girl called Sinnār was dwelling on the bank of the River Nile; so they migrated to her, and their numbers increased.

‘Amāra reached an agreement with ‘Abdallāh Jammā‘ al-Quraynātī of the Qawašma Arabs (who was the father of Shaykh ‘Ajīb al-Kāfūta, the ancestor of Awlād ‘Ajīb), and they decided to fight the Nubians, i.e. the ‘Anaj, the kings of Sōba and the kings of al-Qarrī. So ‘Amāra and ‘Abdallāh set out with their army, fought the kings of the ‘Anaj, killed them, and drove them out of Sōba. Then they proceeded to al-Qarrī, and killed its king. When their victory over the Nubians was complete, ‘Amāra decided that he would be king in the place of the king of ‘Alwa, i.e. Sōba, because he was the

senior, and 'Abdallāh should be in the place of the king of al-Qarrī. Thereupon 'Amāra proceeded to Sinnār, and laid it out. That was in the year 910 [1504-5], and he made it the capital of his kingdom. 'Abdallāh Jammā likewise laid out the town of Qarrī, which is by Jabal al-Rūyān on the east bank, and made it the capital of his kingdom also. 'Amāra and 'Abdallāh were like two brothers, except that 'Amāra was the superior in rank, and 'Abdallāh was inferior to him. If they were both present, ['Amāra] had precedence; and if 'Amāra was absent, 'Abdallāh had precedence of all, and dealt with what 'Amāra dealt with. This continued to be the custom among their descendants until the end of their rule.

As for the Nubians; after the warfare and fighting which had occurred between them and the victory of the Funj, they dispersed in all directions. Some fled to the hills of the south, Fazūghlī and elsewhere. Some fled by the west to the hills of Kordofān. There remained only a very few of them who entered Islam and dispersed through the country. They lived among the people, and intermarried with them. Until now there are a very few of them in the region of Shandī, and also a few of them dwelling in Jarf Qamar and elsewhere in two or three places only. They are Muslims in the mass of the local people. Few people know that they are Nubians by origin, for their language is now Arabic, just like the language of the Arabs, for many Arabs entered the land of the Sūdān, and became its inhabitants. Some of them became settled people, and some of them followed the grazing. They are various tribes: Ḥimyar, Rabī'a, Banū 'Āmir, Qaḥṭān, Kināna, the Kawāhla, Juhayna, Banū Yashkur, Banū 'Abs (i.e. the Kabābīsh), Fazāra and the tribes of the Baqqāra, Banū Salīm and others, and the Aḥāmda, are among the tribes found in the land of the Sūdān.

B. *Ibrāhīm 'Abd al-Dāfi's Introduction; Shubayka, Ta'rikh Text, pp. 1-2*

This is a chronicle relating to the lands of the Nubians and their rulers beginning with the kings of the Fūnj, and what happened in their period until this my time; and the Turks who assumed power after them; and the manner of the passing of their rule. God Most High knows better what is hidden and is wiser.



*Section*

They mention in the annals which I have seen that the first of the kings of the Funj to assume power and to rule was King 'Amāra Dūnqās, and it was he who laid out the city of Sinnār in A.H. 910 [1504-5]. Before him the 'Anaj had gained domination over the Nubians, and had made the city of Sōba the centre of their sultanate. In this city were fine buildings and gardens, and in it was a frontier fortress inhabited by Muslims. Its situation was east of the Nile, near to its confluence with the White Nile. The staple food of its people was white millet, known as *al-qasṣābī*. Their religion was Christianity, and they had a bishop from the patriarch of Alexandria like the Nubians before them. Their books were in Greek, which they interpreted in their own language.

They gained domination over it in the ninth century, and at that time there were no schools of [religious] science for the Muslims living with them; nor was there adherence to the Muḥammadan Sharī'a, so that it was said that a man would divorce his wife, and another would follow him with her on the same day without fulfilling an *'idda*, until Maḥmūd al-'Arakī came to them from Egypt, and taught them some of the principles of the Sharī'a. A frontier fortress was built for him on the White Nile between Alays and the Ḥassaṇiyya, where is now his burial-place; and it is said that this frontier fortress exists.

And in it [were] some '*ulamā*' such as Awlād Dayfallāh, whose tombs are known in the vicinity of Abū Ḥalīma, east of the Blue Nile. It is said that Awlād 'Awnallāh are buried, and their tombs are known. Likewise Shaykh Idrīs w. al-Arbāb is thought to have been born [*istawlada*] in the year 913 [1507-8]. The first entry of Islam into the country of the Nubians was in the caliphate of Hārūn al-Rashīd the 'Abbasid, but without adherence to the Sharī'a.

We shall return to our subject. Know that the beginning of the rule of 'Amāra Dūnqās [was that] at the start he gathered people to himself, and they did not cease to increase. He was dwelling with them at Jabal Mōya, now west of Sinnār, until there came to him 'Abdallāh Jammā' of the Qawāsma Arabs. He was the father of Shaykh 'Ajīb al-Kāfūta, the ancestor of Awlād 'Ajīb. They agreed to fight the 'Anaj, the kings of Sōba and the kings of al-Gharb. So 'Amāra and 'Abdallāh Jammā' set forth with their army, and fought the kings of Sōba and the king of al-Gharb. They were victorious

over them, and killed them. Then they agreed that 'Amāra should be king in place of the king of 'Alwa, i.e. Sōba, as he was the senior; and 'Abdallāh Jammā' should be in the place of the king of al-Gharb. So he set forth, and laid out the city of Qarrī, which is by Jabal al-Rūyān on the east bank, and made it the capital of his realm. Likewise 'Amāra laid out the city of Sinnār. Previously a woman called Sinnār had been dwelling there. He made it the capital of his realm, and that was in the year 910. 'Amāra and 'Abdallāh were ever like two brothers, save that the rank of 'Amāra was higher and greater than the rank of 'Abdallāh if they were together; but if 'Amāra was absent, 'Abdallāh would act as did 'Amāra. This continued to be the custom among their descendants until the end of their rule.

As for the Nubians; after the victory of the Funj over them, they dispersed in the districts of Fazūghlī and Kordofān. Only a few of them were left, who were converted to Islam, and were dispersed among the Arabs dwelling in their country. They are now a few individuals in the district of Shandī and Jirayf Qamar. Only a few people know that they are Nubians by origin, since they have adopted the Arabic language, and their colour is like the colour of the Arabs through intermarriage. For these was much immigration by the Arabs into the land of the Sūdān, following the fertile country. Most of them were from Ḥimyar, Rabī'a, Banū 'Āmir, Qaḥṭān, Kināna, Juhayna, Banū Yashkur, Banū Kāhil, Banū Dhubyān, Banū 'Abs (i.e. the Kabābīsh), Fazāra and Banū Salīm.

## APPENDIX II

### FUNJ KING-LISTS AND ORIGIN LEGENDS

#### A. *Promulgation of the Umayyad Pedigree of the Funj c. 1110/1699*<sup>1</sup>

In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate.

Say: O God, the Sovereign of the kingdom; Thou givest the kingdom to whom Thou wilt, and Thou takest away the kingdom from whom Thou wilt; and Thou dost exalt whom Thou wilt, and Thou dost abase whom Thou wilt. In Thy hand is good, and Thou art powerful over all things.

Written from the Sultan Muḥammad Bādī 'Ajīb<sup>2</sup> to Banū Umayya living in the land of Dunqula, the princes of the People—God aid you with perpetual assistance!

To the *Mānjuluk* Shaykh Qindīl w. Bādī,<sup>3</sup> and Shaykh Bādī w. Qindīl, and Shaykh Ḥammād w. 'Umayma, and Shaykh al-Fīl w. al-Ḥajjāj.

You sent us the son of our brother,<sup>4</sup> the *Mānjuluk* Ismā'īl w. Qindīl, with letters from you all to the effect that the pedigrees of your fathers as far as the place of the Companions (may God be pleased with them) should be sent to you. And you, O our kinsmen, inform us in your letter that pedigrees are of great importance, and that we have not the like greatness of importance except the kingdom [?] [line illegible].

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<sup>1</sup> A very poor photograph of this document appears in Buṣaylī, *Ma'ālīm*, at p. 269 with a defective transcription at pp. 270–1. A better photograph, but with parts of the text still unclear or illegible, was kindly supplied to the writer by Buṣaylī in 1966. Apart from the exordium, the Arabic is poor.

<sup>2</sup> Probably identifiable as Bādī III al-Aḥmar b. Unsa; cf. n. 239 below.

<sup>3</sup> The French travellers, Jacques Poncet and Charles François Xavier de Brévedent, met in Dunqula a personage called by the former "*Erbab Ibrahim*", and by the latter "le Cheik Gandil". This was presumably the *Mānjuluk* Shaykh Qindīl of the text. Since their meeting was in January 1699, Sultan Muḥammad Bādī 'Ajīb may be identified as Bādī III; cf. for the incident W. Foster (ed.), *The Red Sea and adjacent countries*, at p. 100.

<sup>4</sup> It is not clear how literally "the son of our brother" is to be interpreted; cf. n. 243 below.

First we inform you that you are of Banū Umayya, the family of the Companions of the Prophet (the blessing of God be upon him and peace). For Banū Umayya before the time of the Prophet were sultans and kings; and when our Prophet Muḥammad (the blessing of God be upon him and peace) appeared, God caused his first disciples to be from Banū Umayya, Abū Bakr and 'Uthmān his son, and 'Umar, 'Uthmān and Mu'āwiya.<sup>5</sup> The Prophet (the blessing of God be upon him and peace), out of his love for Mu'āwiya, prayed, "May God increase your honour, which you had from the importance of your fathers, in accordance with the standing of the Prophet." Our degree has not diminished, for at the present time there are ten sultans seated on the thrones of the earth, and I am the tenth.

Also Ismā'il is the son of the *Mānjuluk* Shaykh Qindīl, the son of Bādī, the son of Unsa, the son of the Sultan Jamra,<sup>6</sup> the son of the Sultan Šābir known as 'Ajīb, the son of 'Āmir, the son of 'Abd al-'Azīz, the son of Šābir, the son of 'Umayra, the son of al-Hājir, the son of Marāma, the son of Madyan, the son of Šubayḥa, the son of Damashū, the son of Hudhayqa, the son of Marwān, the son of 'Abd al-Ḥakam, the son of Mu'āwiya, the son of Yazīd (may God curse him), the son of Mu'āwiya, the beloved of our Lord Muḥammad (the blessing of God be upon him and peace).

Also Shaykh Bādī is the son of Qindīl, the son of Unsa, [the son of] the Sultan Jamra; the pedigree being the same.<sup>7</sup>

(The pedigrees of Shaykh Ḥammād of the Juhayna, and Shaykh al-Fīl of Banū Makhzūm are not translated.)

<sup>5</sup> Islamic historical tradition is distorted, either out of ignorance or to exalt the alleged ancestry of the Funj. Abū Bakr was not an Umayyad. 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, the second Patriarchal Caliph, is conflated with the Umayyad Caliph 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz. The Umayyad Mu'āwiya replaces 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, the fourth Patriarchal Caliph. The Umayyad pedigree ascribed specifically to Ismā'il b. Qindīl is largely fictional, even the relationship of the historical Umayyads being confused.

<sup>6</sup> Buṣaylī, *Ma'ālīm*, 262, transcribes an order of Sultan Jamra originally dated 1084/1673-4. He may from this be identified as Bādī II Abū Diqin, and his father, Sultan Šābir 'Ajīb, as Rubāt.

<sup>7</sup> The genealogies of Qindīl and his sons appear to be historical for the preceding five or six generations, although confused. It will be noted that Qindīl is here shown as the son of Unsa, whereas in the pedigree of Ismā'il he is designated the son of Bādī and the grandson of Unsa. If the former genealogy is correct, Qindīl might indeed be the brother of Muḥammad Bādī 'Ajīb/Bādī III b. Unsa. The difficulty would, however, remain that Unsa, the father of Bādī III, is shown in the Funj Chronicle and the Bruce king-list as the son of Nāṣir, the brother of Bādī II/Jamra and the son of Rubāt/Šābir 'Ajīb, whereas Qindīl's ancestry is traced to Unsa the son of Bādī II/Jamra!

Lineage is respected, and the tongues are a wounding sword; facts may be seen, and the tongues are silent. The slave is respected, and his noble qualities are seen. Beware, beware of the wounds of the tongues.

O my kinsmen, after the arrival of the son of my brother, Ismā'īl w. Qindīl, among you, take [him] to the pious saint, the *faqīh* Muḥammad Abū Diliq w. [*al-faqīh*] Ḥāmid<sup>8</sup> [*unclear*]. Then all come forth, and assemble the chiefs of the region with [*unclear*]. After the assembly, they shall be read aloud to the people, and after the reading let him who knows our pedigrees honour them. Let my lord Muḥammad Abū Diliq have the pedigree from me in trust; let him not deliver it to anyone except it be ordered [?] for something necessary. He shall be provided with a copy of the Umayyad pedigree, and it shall remain with him in trust.

Also, O heads [?] of the princes of the People, we have appointed as our deputy to you the *Mānjuluk* Ismā'īl, the son of our brother Qindīl; and we request of the kinsmen that he should come to us for the session of the council after the completion for the reception of despatches. [? We command] you, O princes, to listen to the *Mānjuluk* without dissension.

We have directed the *Mānjuluk* Ismā'īl to fence the mosque of the *faqīh* Muḥammad Abū Diliq every year generally as far as it is easily possible, and every year you shall give him the *zakāh*. We have resolved upon it, and that it shall be followed after [us] by our offspring [giving it] to the offspring after the pious saint Muḥammad Abū Diliq b. *al-faqīh* Ḥāmid. O God, profit us by his holy power in the Two Worlds. Amen.

### B. A Funj Origin Legend and King-list<sup>9</sup>

As for the 'Amriyyūn, the 'ayn being vocalized with *a* and the *mīm* being unvocalized, they are the family of Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik

<sup>8</sup> Abū Diliq, the founder of the holy family, flourished in the time of 'Ajīb, the second of the 'Abdallābī lords of Qarrī, i.e. the late tenth/sixteenth and early eleventh/seventeenth centuries. There is a short notice of him in *Ṭabaqāt*, p. 49 (no. 4), not given in MacMichael's summary-translation. The Muḥammad Abū Diliq w. Ḥāmid was presumably his grandson. The mosque was near the exit of the route from Dār Fūr by Wādī al-Milk to the Nile at al-Dabba; cf. Crawford, *Fung kingdom*, 38-9.

<sup>9</sup> This passage is translated from *Kitāb ma'ārif furū' uṣūl al-'Arab wa'l-ḥasab wa'l-*



b. Marwān the Umayyad.<sup>10</sup> It is said that they are now the [holders of the] sultanate, the rulers in the land of the Hamaj, so that they became [part] of them in every respect, and became renowned as the Funj.

The reason for the departure of Sulaymān to the country of the Blacks was in the rule of the Caliph Abū Ja'far 'Abdallāh al-Saffāh.<sup>11</sup> He was the first of the 'Abbasids to take power, and he wrested the kingdom from the hands of Marwān, who is said to have been the last of the Umayyad kings. This Abū Ja'far did not cease killing and pursuing the Umayyads in order to clear the earth of them. Sulaymān fled to the land of the Abyssinians, where he remained for a time. Then he heard that al-Saffāh was pressing on his search for the Umayyads after their dispersal throughout the lands, and he had caught Muḥammad b. al-Walīd b. Hāshim in the land of Andalusia, and slain him. So Sulaymān fled from the land of the Abyssinians to the country of the Blacks. He came to the ruler, and married the daughter of King Niqū, the king of the Blacks. He begat two sons upon her; one of them was Dāwūd and the second Anas. He died, and those names lay heavily on their tongues, so Dāwūd was called Awdūn and Anas Uns. Uns was the ancestor of the Unsāb, and Awdūn the ancestor of the Awdūnāb. They intermarried with the Blacks until they became part of them in every respect. After King Niqū the sovereignty was changed, and they became the kings of the Blacks, known as the Funj, and they are known as the Unsāb.

The first of them to rule in Sinnār was Sultan 'Amāra Dūnqas, son of Sultan 'Adlān, in the year 910 [1504–5]. The length of his rule in Sinnār was 20 years.

Then after him his son, Sultan Nāyil, and the length of his reign was 17 years.

Then his brother, Sultan 'Abd al-Qādir, the son of Sultan 'Adlān [*sic*], and the length of his reign was 8 years.

*nasab*. A translation of this Sudanese genealogical work was made from a collation of three manuscripts by MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, 16–59. The present excerpt is translated from the manuscript once owned by al-Nūr Muḥammad 'Anqara (see Hill, *Biographical dictionary*, 297).

<sup>10</sup> The historical Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān was an Umayyad caliph. He reigned from 96/715 to 99/717, over thirty years before the end of the Umayyad caliphate.

<sup>11</sup> The *kunya* of al-Saffāh was Abu'l-'Abbās.

And after him Sultan 'Amāra, the son of Sultan Nāyil, and the length of his reign was 11 years.

Then after him his brother, Dakīn b. Nāyil, for 17 years.

Then after him Sultan Dōrah b. Dakīn for 3 years.

Then after him Sultan Uns b. Ṭabl b. 'Abd al-Qādir for 13 years.

Then after him Sultan 'Abd al-Qādir b. Uns for 4 years.

Then after him Sultan 'Adlān b. Uns for 5 years.

Then after him Sultan Bādī b. 'Abd al-Qādir for 6 years.

Then after him Sultan Rubāṭ b. Bādī for 30 years.

Then after him Bādī b. Rubāṭ for 38 years.

Then after him Sultan Uns b. Nāṣir for 12 years.

Then after him Bādī b. Uns for 27 years.

Then after him Uns b. Bādī for 3 years and 4 months.

Then there came to power after him—b. Bādī for 3 years and 6 months.

Then after him Bādī for 40 years.

Then after him his son, Nāṣir, and there was content with him for seven years, and in the year 1179 [1765–66] he was no more.

### C. Bruce's King-list<sup>12</sup>

In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate.

The chronology of the kings of the Funj state in the divinely guarded and protected city of Sinnār after the Nubian kingdom.<sup>13</sup>

The first who resided in Sinnār was Sultan 'Amāra b. 'Adlān in the year 910 from the Emigration of the Apostle of God (the blessing of God be upon him and peace) [1504–5], and he died in the year 940 [1533–34], and his reign was 30 years.

<sup>12</sup> This, perhaps the most reliable chronology of the Funj rulers, was given to the Scottish traveller, James Bruce, by the *Sīd al-qām* Aḥmad, a Funj dynastic official. It is now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (MS. Bruce 18 (2), ff. 54b–57a, 58a). The Arabic text has been published with a translation by Jay Spaulding and 'Abd al-Ghaffār M. Aḥmad in *Fontes Historiae Africanae: Bulletin d'Information*, Nos. 7/8, 1984, 38–42.

<sup>13</sup> The Funj state is represented as the successor of the southern Nubian kingdom, which had its capital at Sōba, and which was overthrown (according to a tradition referred to in the Funj Chronicle) by 'Amāra Dūnqas and 'Abdallāh Jammā' al-Quraynātī al-Qāsimī, the ancestor of the 'Abdallāb.

Then after him reigned his son, Sultan Nāyil, in the year 940, and he died in the year 957 [1550–51], and his reign was 17 years.

Then after him reigned his brother, Sultan ‘Abd al-Qādir b. ‘Amāra,<sup>14</sup> in the year 957. His death was in the year 965 [1557–58], and his reign was 8 years.

Then after him reigned Sultan ‘Amāra b. Nāyil in the year 965. His going forth<sup>15</sup> was in the year 976 [1568–69], and he reigned for 11 years.

Then after him reigned Sultan Dakīn b. Nāyil in the year 976, and his death was in 994 [1585–86], and his reign was 17 years.

Then after him reigned his son, Sultan Dōrah,<sup>16</sup> in the year 994. His going forth was in the year 996 [1587–88], and his reign was 3 years.

Then after him reigned Sultan Ṭayyib b. ‘Abd al-Qādir in the year 996. His death was in the year 1000 [1591–92], and his reign was three years.

Then after him reigned Sultan Unsa<sup>17</sup> in the year 1000, and his going forth was in the year 1012 [1603–4], and his reign was 13 years.

Then after him reigned his son, Sultan ‘Abd al-Qādir, in the year 1012, and they put him forth<sup>18</sup> in Rajab 1015 [November 1606], and his reign was 4 years.

Then after him reigned Sultan ‘Adlān b. Unsa, the lord of the battle of Karkōj, in the year 1016 [1607–8]. His going forth was in the year 1020 [1611–12], and his reign was 5 years.

Then after him reigned Sultan Bādī b. ‘Abd al-Qādir in the year 1020. His death was in the year 1025 [1616–17], and his reign was 6 years.

Then after him reigned his son, Sultan Rubāt,<sup>19</sup> in the year 1025. His death was in the year 1054 [1644–45], and his reign was 30 years.

Then after him reigned his son, Sultan Bādī, in the year 1054.

<sup>14</sup> The Funj Chronicle reverses the order of the reigns of Nāyil and ‘Abd al-Qādir.

<sup>15</sup> His going forth: *khurījūhu*. Spaulding and ‘Abd al-Ghaffār translate “his fall”.

<sup>16</sup> Dōrah is shown in the Funj Chronicle as the brother of Dakīn.

<sup>17</sup> Unsa’s link with the previous rulers is not shown here. According to *K. ma’ārif furū’ usūl al-‘Arab*, he was the son of Ṭabl (here Ṭayyib) b. ‘Abd al-Qādir.

<sup>18</sup> They put him forth: *kharrājūhu*. Spaulding and ‘Abd al-Ghaffār translate “They deposed him”.

<sup>19</sup> Rubāt: Spaulding and ‘Abd al-Ghaffār read “Arbāt”.

His death was in the year 1091 on 6 Dhu'l-Hijja [28 December 1680], and his reign was 38 years.

Then after him reigned the son of his brother, Sultan Unsa b. Nāṣir b. Rubāt, in the year 1092 [1681–82]. His death was in the year 1103 [1692], and his reign was 12 years.

Then after him reigned his son, Sultan Bādī, on Saturday, 21 Ramaḍān 1103 [6 June 1692], and his reign was 25 years, and his death was in the year 1128 [1716].

Then after him reigned his son, Sultan Unsa, on the night of Friday, 20 Rabīʿ II 1128 [13 April 1716]. His going forth was in the year 1132 [1720], and his reign was 3 years and 14 days.

Then after him reigned Sultan Nōl b. Bādī on Saturday, 1 Shaʿbān 1132 [8 June 1720]. His death was in the year 1136 [1724], and his reign was 4 years.

Then after him reigned his son, Sultan Bādī, after the *ʿishā*<sup>20</sup> on the Saturday, 16 Shawwāl 1136 [8 July 1724]. His going forth was on Sunday, 2 Ramaḍān 1175 [27 March 1762].

Then after him reigned his son, Sultan Nāṣir, on Monday, the day after the going forth of his father and the third of the month; and his going forth was on Tuesday, 27 Shaʿbān [1183/26 December 1769], and his reign was 8 years.

Then after him reigned his brother, the victorious and divinely assisted Sultan Ismāʿīl in the year 1183.

#### D. Arkell's King-list<sup>21</sup>

In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate

Praise be to God, and blessing and peace upon the Apostle of God (the blessing of God be upon him and peace).

<sup>20</sup> *ʿIshā* is the time of night-prayer.

<sup>21</sup> This king-list is among the papers of the late Revd. Dr. A.J. Arkell, now in the Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London. It is accompanied by the following note in Arkell's handwriting:—

Fung Chronicle

One page belonging to fiki AHMED ABDELGADIR, khalifa of HAJJU EL AHMAR, gives part of a Fung history? older than the Fung Chronicle. It gives Amara Dunkas as the son of BASNÜN and says he killed Hasaballah el Anajawi.

This is the chronology of the Funj state in the city of Sinnār (may God Most High protect it).<sup>22</sup>

The first of them, Sultan 'Amāra Dūnqas b. Basnūn, killed King Ḥasaballāh al-'Anajāwī and [*sic*] the king of al-Qarya, and took the realm from him, and remained in it 42 years.

Then after him his son, King Nā'il, took power, [and] his reign was 17 years.

Then after him King 'Abd al-Qādir took power, and his reign was 20 years.

Then after him King 'Amāra Abū Sikaykīn w. Nāyil took power, and his reign was 8 years, and they put him out.

Then after him King Dakīn Sayyid al-'Āda w. Nāyil took power, and his reign was 19 years.

Then after him King Dawranah [Dōrah] took power, and his reign was 8 years.

Then after him King Ṭabl Sīd al-Qōm w. 'Abd al-Qādir took power, and his reign was 40 years.

Then after him King Unsa, his son, took power, [and his reign was] 12 years.

Then after him King 'Adlān w. Āyah took power, and his reign was 4 years, and they put him out.

Then there took power after. . . .

*E. A Funj origin-legend in the Mansfield Parkyns Papers, Nottingham*

This is written on the left-hand half of the recto and verso of MS. Pa X 2, which is divided into halves by folding.<sup>23</sup>

The original owner of this king-list belonged to the Ya'qūbāb, a holy tribe of the Sinnār district, historically connected with the Funj; cf. A.J. Arkell, "Fung origins", *SNR*, XV/2, 1932, at p. 237.

<sup>22</sup> The benediction following "Sinnār" suggests that this king-list derives from a document written before the end of the Funj monarchy. On the other hand, the next paragraph suggests that it was put together in its present form by someone with a distant knowledge of al-Zubayr w. Dawwah's introduction to the Funj Chronicle. This does not, however, mention the name of Ḥasaballāh, which to the best of my knowledge occurs only in the tribal chronicle of the 'Abdallāb; cf. A.E.D. Penn, "Traditional stories of the 'Abdullab tribe", *SNR*, XVII/1, 1934, at p. 61. Penn translates a chronicle written not before 1912.

<sup>23</sup> This curious and obviously corrupt document gives an alternative version of the alleged Arab origin of the Funj with (apparently) an 'Abbasid pedigree, and brings their ancestor into the Nile Valley by way of Sawākin and Barbar. The



The pedigree of the Funj, the kings of the land of the Sūdān.

The settlement of Arbajī came first, and after it Sinnār.

In the year 600 of the Hijra [1203–4] there came a man of Banū ‘Anbas [? ‘Abbās], one of the tribes of Quraysh. He was called Ḥakīm b. ‘Ammār b. Kāshih b. Hayyil b. Arqam b. Ma‘wān b. Ma‘rūf b. ‘Umar b. Sālim b. ‘Abd al-‘Az[īz] b. Ṣafwān b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Sakrān b. Bishāra b. Makūk b. ‘Umar b. ‘Adūb b. ‘Ashar b. Zubayr of the tribes of Quraysh in the Yemen. He came to the land of the Sūdān in the year 600 from the regions of the Ḥijāz. He came by Sawākin, and settled in the land of the Barbar. He found someone called Ghaylaf b. Dūkh [reading doubtful], the king of the Barbar, and stayed some days with him. He travelled beside the auspicious Nile until he came to the confluence of the two rivers at al-Khurṭūm, and asked about the condition of this land. There came to him one of the kings of the ‘Anaj called ‘Alwā, and said to him, “Thou art a stranger, and art come from the regions of the land, travelling where thou wilt.” Ḥakīm said to him, “The going and the directing are by command of the Sublime King.” He married [?] one of their women, and she bore him four sons: one of them was called Maṭar, the second Marbūkh, the third was called al-Faḍīl, and the fourth was called Miṣbāh, and they had offspring.

As for Maṭar, he travelled beside the blessed Nile, and came to the districts of Jabal ‘Aqrabayn, one of the hills of Qulla. He stayed some days, and married a woman of the settlers of the land, and they had offspring. The descendants of Maṭar have now spread as tribes in Qulla and al-Ruṣayriṣ.

As for Marbūkh, he travelled by the said Peninsula, and married in Ḥillat al-Qajar. They had offspring, and their renown has spread until now. The villages of al-Qajar are famous.

As for al-Faḍīl, he travelled in the land of the east, married a

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transformation of the Nubian kingdom of ‘Alwa into the ‘Anaj king ‘Alwā is independent of al-Zubayr w. Dawwah’s recension of the Chronicle, since the document was obtained by Mansfield Parkyns in 1847. Its real importance is that it depicts the Funj as a group of four tribes in the Blue Nile region: Banū Maṭar in the region of al-Ruṣayriṣ, Banū Marbūkh in the villages of Qajar (unidentified), Banu’l-Faḍīl in “the land of the east” (? of the Blue Nile), and Ṣabāh or Miṣbāh, the founder of the ruling dynasty in Sinnār. The genealogies with which the document ends are muddled, even nonsensical, and cannot be reconciled with the Funj king-lists. It should be noted that Awlād Maṭar and Awlād al-Faḍīl, described as “some of the king’s kinsmen of the Funj” were present at the deposition of a king (p. 106 above).

woman of Juhayna, and became famous there. They had numerous offspring, and became kings in that land until now. Their family is renowned, and their place is well known.

As for Ṣabāḥ [sic], his renown spread for strength in horsemanship and courage in leadership, so that all the tribes and the nomad Arabs made marriage alliances. He remained the chief of the Peninsula of Sinnār, and continued taking the nomad Arabs and raiding the hills, even strong ones [?]. He was strong in men and iron, and valiant. He married a woman of Jabal Fāzūghlī, brought her to the lowland of Sinnār, and took possession. This spread through all the regions. He left many descendants, and they inherited the kingdom one after another to the limit of the Ottoman state.

As for the said Ṣabāḥ, he begat al-Aḥmar, Naṣṣār, ‘Adlān, Dafa‘allāh and Sulaymān.

Al-Aḥmar begat [!] al-Ḥajjām b. Nāṣir b. Maḥmūd b. Bādī b. Abū Shulūkh b. ‘Adlān b. Nāṣir b. Abū Likaylik b. Dōka b. Ṭanbal b. Nāṣir b. ‘Umar, and the succession to the kingdom was with them. The end; and God knows best.

### APPENDIX III

#### MATERIALS FROM THE EGYPTIAN ARCHIVES, GIVEN IN ARABIC TRANSLATION FROM THE TURKISH, IN SHUBAYKA, *TA'RĪKH*, NOTES

(a) Notes, pp. 14–15, 22/1 (Archives, File 19, document 18 *Sudan*). Report from Ismā'īl Pasha to Muḥammad 'Alī Pasha, 16 Ramaḍān 1236/17 June 1821.

We set out from Shandī and arrived at the place called Halfāyā, where we stayed for four days to assemble 200 camels. Then we crossed the Peninsula of Sinnār from its start in two and a half days, accompanied by our entire army. We reached and entered without difficulty the city of Sinnār, which is the capital of the land of the Sūdān, on 12 Ramaḍān. We have sent Ḥasan Ağa *Çokadar* of the Viceregal Inner Service to your court, furnished with details of the events which occurred during the journey, to present in audience as he was an eyewitness of them, and as I myself noted and heard them. When your Highness is duly informed thereof, we await your command.

(b) Notes, pp. 18–19, 24/3 (Archives, Register 10 *Ma'īyya*). Letter from Muḥammad 'Alī Pasha to the Defterdar, 8 Jumādā II 1238/20 Feb. 1823, summarizing a report from the latter.

I have considered your letter which came with the *Çavuş* Muştafā, in which you report that you prepared the necessary equipment, and made your way to the White Nile. When the Ḥassāniyya Arabs, the subjects of Sinnār, came to the islands, you lashed together sufficient log rafts, and came on those islands. A party of those Arabs was killed, and others were made prisoners. You verified there the question of Shandī, and perceived that it was necessary to proceed to Shandī West and Shandī East. Nimr and Musā'id joined forces with Barbar, and besieged Maḥū Bey. Their sons assembled in the village of Matamma with some thousands of men, but dismay cast down their corrupt hearts. They could not maintain a firm stance, and took refuge in flight. This village of Matamma is a large settlement; about 2,000 of its inhabitants were killed and over 3,000

captured, but they killed and burnt. You advanced from there on Barbar to relieve it from the siege, and on the way you killed many of the rebels. You approached to 12 hours' distance of Barbar, but Nimr and Musā'id crossed the river with 8,000 men, and sought battle with you. A thousand of them were killed, about half of them drowned in the river, and the rest fled. You left your place, and approached to five hours' distance of Barbar, annihilating everyone you came upon on the way. When Maḥū Bey heard of the flight of Nimr and Musā'id from Muqrāt, he went to Dāmar with Khidr Ağa. You met them both, and you were told the particulars of the siege which the Bey had suffered from Nimr. You mention that you decided to transfer to the west [*sic, read east*], passing behind Ḥalfāyā. We are delighted with the zeal and fervour we see in you, and multiply Our prayers for your well-being.

(c) Notes, pp. 19–20, 25/2 (Archives, Register 14 *Ma'iyya Turkā*, document 194). Letter from Muḥammad 'Alī Pasha to the Defterdar, 16 Muḥarram 1239/19 Sept. 1823, summarizing a report from the latter.

I am informed by the contents of your letter arriving with your follower Ḥasan in the succession of good news that you have left Ḥalīm Ağa, Ḥasan Ağa al-Qubruṣī, Ḥusayn Ağa al-Kūmaljanah and the bedouin in the garrison-town of Kordofān, and you yourself have come to Sinnār with the stated number of troops accompanying Ibrāhīm Ağa. When you went down from there to Walad Madanī, and approached Shandī, Nimr and Musā'id heard, and withdrew to a place called Abū Dilayq at a distance of three stages in the interior. You went down to a place called Ja'aliyyūn, and stayed there for about twenty days without hearing anything of the rebels. A party of the troops was attached to the company of the *Delibaṣī* 'Uthmān Ağa, and they were sent to Aḥmad Bey and the resident [?] bedouin. They were instructed to turn on Nimr, so they turned on him. When Nimr realized the situation, he mustered his villagers and beduin, and risked a fight, but they were quickly dispersed. They were slain by the sword's edge—his sons, his brothers, his uncles and his cousins, their names as stated, and thousands of his slaves. There were captured his mother, his women, his daughters, his infant sons, his aunts, his slave-girls, his slaves and his relatives, over 4,000 in number at the moment of despatching to this place. There were

taken 2,000 baggage-camels. Even if Nimr has escaped by reason of his being distant from the battlefield, his capture is hoped for.

(d) Notes, pp. 20–21, 25/3 (Archives, Register 14 *Maʿiyya Turkī*, document 255). Letter from Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha to the Defterdar, 4 Rabīʿ I 1239/8 Nov. 1823, summarizing a report from the latter.

From his Highness to the Commander-in-chief of the Sudan and Kordofān.

I learn from your last letter to arrive that you set out on 2 Muḥarram [8 Sept.] intending to punish Musāʿid, and that you spent 24 hours on the journey. Then you stopped at the place called Abū Ḥarāz opposite the place called Walad Madanī, where you learnt that Musāʿid had crossed the river called the Rahad situated on the east [bank], and had met the persons called Dafaʿallāh and Walad ʿAjīb at the place called Ṭayyiba on the River Dindir. They all took the road to Abyssinia, and you followed them until you caught up with them at a place 50 hours distant from Abū Ḥarāz. You proceeded to punish them, and dispersed them in a short time. Those who crossed the Dindir escaped, and those who could not cross were drowned. You captured about 7,000 of them, men and women, and took as booty about 300 stallions and mares and many camels. Thereafter you returned for lack of means of crossing the river to the opposite bank. You hastened your return, and pressed on with all speed for lack of food in that part. The weak captives diminished in number until you stopped at Abū Ḥarāz. You intend to send about 5,000 of them to Sinnār, to be sent in batches of a thousand to the governor of Dungle. Fifty of them are the sons of Musāʿid, his women, his brothers, his daughters' children, and his sisters. Five [*sic*] of them are the wife of Nimr, his son and his daughter. I was delighted without measure by this information.

(e) Notes, pp. 21–22, 26/4 (Archives, Register 16 *Maʿiyya Turkī*, letter 164). Letter from Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha to the Defterdar, 4 Jumādā I 1239/6 Jan. 1824.

In view of the long period which has elapsed since the date of your appointment to the Sudan, and since the time of your return to Egypt is near, We have appointed to the Sudan the Colonel of the First [Regiment] ʿUthmān Bey, accompanied by five battalions consisting of 4,080 infantrymen to occupy your place. We have likewise



appointed to Kordofān the Colonel of the Third [Regiment] Khūrshīd Bey in command of a similar number of battalions and soldiers.

(f) Notes, p. 22, 26/4 (Archives reference not given). Letter from Muḥammad 'Alī Pasha dated 23 Rabī' II 1240/15 Dec. 1824, in reply to a letter from 'Uthmān Bey.

We learn from your letter received by Rustum Efendi, former keeper of Our seals and now supervisor of procurement, that you have reached al-Khurṭūm, and that you have decided to reside there. You have sent the *kaymakam*, the second battalion and four *kāshifs* to Kordofān. You will construct a citadel at al-Khurṭūm, and a fort on the east and the west bank. You will station the fifth battalion at al-Khurṭūm, and the rest of the soldiers between Sinnār and al-Khurṭūm. You will invest the shaykhs of Sinnār with their robes of honour, and send off the *kāshifs* as decided. You will lay down a good system in regard to the taxation of the merchants, the lands of Sinnār, and the gifts of the natives, and likewise their tithes, their poll-tax and so forth; and you will forward the outstanding accounts of the land of the Sudan after their preparation.

(g) Notes, p. 22, 27/1 (Archives reference not given). Letter from Muḥammad 'Alī Pasha to Maḥū Bey, dated 27 Shawwāl 1240/14 June 1825.

You inform Us of the death of 'Uthmān Bey and the coming of Maḥū Bey from Barbar; and you tell Us in your letter, conveyed lately by your follower, and in your other letter which arrived with the follower of 'Uthmān Aḡa, supervisor of the *jihādiyya*, that 'Uthmān Bey, Colonel of the First [Regiment], residing with the regiment in Sinnār, passed to the everlasting mansion on 23 Ramaḍān [1240/11 May 1825]; and that your Excellency, in accordance with your zeal and by virtue of your ardour, set out from Barbar on 1 Shawwāl [1240/19 May 1825] for the districts of Sinnār in order to work for the winning of hearts.

(h) Notes, p. 32, 37/1 (Archives reference not given). Letter from Muḥammad Sa'īd Pasha to Mūsā Pasha, dated 8 Sha'bān 1279/29 Jan. 1862, with notification of the appointment of Aḥmad 'Awaḍ al-Karīm Abū Sinn as *mudīr* of al-Khurṭūm.

We learn from your letters dated 24 Jumada II 1279 [17 Dec. 1862] sent to Our court, of the idleness and negligence of Rāsikh

Bey, the present *mudīr* of al-Khurṭūm, in the discharge of his duties, and of the measure of exertion and energy shown by Aḥmad Abū Sinn Bey, one of the great shaykhs of that region, in the good administration of the Peninsula, and in forwarding its affairs and interests.

We therefore inform you that We order the appointment of Aḥmad Abū Sinn Bey as *mudīr* of al-Khurṭūm, and the award to him of the Second Grade; and We ask you to enroll him in the registers for the emoluments of the said Grade with effect from the date of this Our order, informing you that the diploma appropriate to the Grade will be sent hereafter.

#### APPENDIX IV

### THE MUTINY OF THE *JIHADIYYA* AT KASALA IN 1281/1865

This account is given by Na'ūm Shuqayr, *Ta'rīkh al-Sūdān*, III, 40–48.

Meanwhile the black *jihādiyya* in Kasala rose in a mutiny which led to much bloodshed and occupied a number of months. Its cause was bad management by the leading officers, and the government's delay in paying the soldiers' wages. The details as they were given me by reliable witnesses of the mutiny were as follows:

The garrison of Kasala at that time consisted of about 4,000 black *jihādiyya* together with about 1,000 Turkish and Shāyqiyya troopers of irregular cavalry [*başıbozuk*]. The governor of Kasala was Ibrāhīm Bey Adham. In Shawwāl 1281/March 1865 it occurred to the governor to send a raiding party to the hills of the Bāria and the Bāza; so he issued an order to one of the *jihādiyya* battalions and some of the irregular cavalry to get ready for the raid. The *jihādiyya* had been six months without pay, so they disobeyed the order, and said, "We shan't go until we get our back pay!" When Khaṭṭāb Efendi, the commanding officer of the battalion heard of what they said, he was angry, and said, "Don't the slaves deign to obey the order? By God, I'll flog them into marching!" This stiffened the obstinacy of the blacks; and when the appointed day arrived they left the citadel, and halted in a column at the Sabdarāt Gate. They piled their arms in a heap in front of them, and sent to inform Khaṭṭāb Efendi that they would not move until they received their pay in full, and if he still intended to carry out his order by flogging, let him get on with it!

Khaṭṭāb Efendi came to them on his horse, and called out, "Present arms!" They attacked him, heaped abuse on him, and beat him with sticks. Their women were behind them, encouraging them, and making the *zaghārī*. Khaṭṭāb Efendi took flight, and informed the governor of what had happened. He was concerned at the matter, and feared the spread of the mutiny to the whole regiment. The ammunition was in the possession of their lieutenant, so he took it from him, and delivered it to an officer of the Turkish irregular cavalry. He assembled the western merchants and the townspeople, armed

them, and attached them to the irregular cavalry, distributing them among the towers of the wall.

The mutineers for their part picked up their arms, and advanced towards Sabdarāt. Khaṭṭāb Efendi had dispatched thither some troopers of the irregular cavalry with two guns and 60 cases of ammunition on 30 camels to head the raiding party. The mutineers caught up with them on the way, and got possession of the ammunition and the two guns after killing the troopers and beating their leader, the *Sersūvarī* Saʿīd Aḡa Abū Falaqa. They beat him severely, left him half dead, and stopped in Sabdarāt.

The governor held a meeting of officers, merchants and notables to consider the affair of the battalion. They decided to send them their arrears of pay, and to handle the affair as well as might be until calm was restored in the first place, and then to deal with them as they saw fit. In the treasury of Kasala there was some cash deposited in trust, and they decided to give it to them until the financial situation eased, when it would be returned. There was in Kasala at that time Sayyid al-Ḥasan, the son of Sayyid Muḥammad al-Mīrghani, the founder of the Mīrghaniyya *ṭarīqa* in the Sudan. He undertook the business. He carried the cash, went to Sabdarāt, and distributed it in equal shares to the mutineers, each of them receiving four riyals. Then he rebuked them for their conduct, and asked them to return to Kasala. They agreed, provided that their commander was not Khaṭṭāb Efendi. Sayyid al-Ḥasan returned to Kasala, and informed the governor of what had passed. He sent ʿUthmān Bey, military *kaymakam*, to lead them and raid the hills with them. They received him obediently, proceeded with him on the raid, which lasted three months, and returned to Kasala.

In the meantime the governor had written to *Mirliva* Hasan Pasha in al-Khurṭūm, informing him of what had occurred. Ḥasan Pasha sent *Miralay* ʿAlī Bey Abū Widān to take over the command of the regiment. Then he himself followed immediately together with Ismāʿīl Bey Ayyūb to look into the matter. He arrived at Kasala a month before the return of the battalion. When it arrived, he convoked a secret meeting to look into the matter. They agreed to distribute the soldiers among the nomad Hadanduwaʾ on the pretext of collecting the taxes, and then order the nomads to seize them. The order was issued to the battalion, and they went out to al-Mitkināb, led by *Miralay* ʿAlī Bey Abū Widān. On Monday, 7 Ṣafar 1282/1 July 1885 ʿAlī Bey ordered the officers of the battalion, who were mostly

Egyptians, to disperse among the tribes to collect the taxes. The soldiers perceived that there was a plot afoot, so they refused to move, and when the officers spoke harshly to them, they attacked them, and killed most of them. They spread through the village, looted it, and returned to Kasala.

As for 'Alī Bey Abū Widān, he escaped from them with extreme difficulty, and hastened to Kasala. He arrived there before them, and informed the *Mirliva* and the governor of what had occurred. They left their houses, which were inside the *jihādiyya* barracks, went into the provincial headquarters with their families, and started to prepare to meet the mutineers. The *Sersivari* Sa'īd Ağa's wound was healed, and they ordered him to guard the ammunition with his troopers. The governor and the *Mirliva* collected the weapons from the remaining three battalions in Kasala, and instead of putting them in the armoury, they put them in the barracks. They brought in the *Shāyqiyya* irregular cavalry, who were stationed outside the wall, and attached them to the *Maghāriba* and other townspeople. They distributed them to the towers, and ordered them to fire on the soldiers of the battalion on their arrival. They stationed themselves on the tower of the *Ḥalanqa* between the two western gates.

On Wednesday morning, 10 Ṣafar 1282/5 July 1865 the battalion arrived, proceeding in military order. When the *Mirliva* and the governor saw them in this order, they ordered that no resistance should be offered, and went into the provincial headquarters, where they entrenched themselves. When the mutineers approached the Gardens Gate, the squadron-commander Muḥammad Ağa al-Mardalī fired a volley on them against orders. He killed one of their sergeants, and said, "This is vengeance for my cousin, who was killed on the day of the mutiny, when the ammunition was looted." Then he fired another volley, and killed a corporal. Thereupon the soldiers of the battalion were aroused. They entered the barracks, where were the Egyptian officers, six in number, and they killed everyone of them. After they had killed Khaṭṭāb Efendi, they put kindling on him, and burnt him up. Then the three remaining battalions combined with them, and took sides with them out of ethnic feeling against the Turks and the Arabs. They broke down the doors of the rooms in which their weapons had been put. They took them, and entrenched themselves in the barracks, in which they opened loopholes, and intercepted the passers-by. Most of them spread out among the houses, plundering and looting.



Sayyid Ḥasan al-Mīrghānī had gone to Sabdarāt, so the governor sent for him. On 11 Ṣafar 1282/6 July 1865 he arrived at Ḥillat al-Ḥalanqa, west of the citadel, and wrote to the mutineers asking them to stop fighting. He gave the letter to one of his *khalīfas*, who put it up on a cane, and entered the citadel with it, crying, "Here's a letter for you from Sayyid al-Ḥasan!" The mutineers welcomed him, and stopped fighting. Then the Sayyid entered, and they pressed forward to kiss his hand, and complained to him about their affair. He promised them a settlement. Then he went to the *Mirlīva* and the governor, and held a meeting to consider the pacification of the disorder. It was again decided to employ the nomads to seize them; so they assembled many groups of horsemen and nearby tribesmen of the Hadanduwa, the Ḥalanqa, the Arabs of Sabdarāt, the Jādūn and Banū 'Āmir, and placed them in al-Khatmiyya. Then Sayyid al-Ḥasan went to the *jihādiyya*, and said to them, "It is agreed that you may leave the citadel with all your possessions, and may go where you will." The *jihādiyya* perceived that there was a plot on foot like the one planned for them in al-Mītkināb. So they refused to leave unless each of them were given 12 rounds of ammunition for their protection if there were treachery. Everybody agreed to accept their request apart from Sa'īd Ağa Abū Falaqa, who was responsible for guarding the ammunition, and was determined to take revenge on the mutineers. He completely rejected this suggestion, and said, "I don't recognize that any of you has authority over me, and I account myself responsible for the ammunition directly to our lord." The governor and the *Mirlīva* answered him, "If we don't give them the small quantity they ask, we have no means of seizing them, but we fear that they will attack and kill both you and your men, and get possession of all the ammunition. It remains to choose the lesser of two evils, and give them what they ask. Then we will consider what to do with them." Sa'īd Ağa said, "Is the lesser of two evils that you choose to hand over the government's ammunition to mutineers and traitors who will rebel against it, and kill a great number of its men? Is there in this world a greater evil than for soldiers to display cowardice before slaves, the offspring of concubines, and surrender to them the demands of the power which God has sent down, and give them the ammunition so that they may use it to fight them? Is it not more fitting that we should summon them to obedience, and if they refuse it, fight them until we win or die with honour? Choose for yourselves as you will. As for me, I have chosen

death rather than to comply with the demands of this rabble, If they attack me where I am stationed, and I cannot stop them, I shall get on a barrel of powder, and fire all the ammunition. I will kill myself rather than let them have a single round."

The mutineers learnt of what was said, so they gave up the idea going, and split up into four sections according to their ethnic groups: the Dinka, the Fūr, the Nūba and the mixed races. A chief from each section took charge of it, and they spread through the town plundering and looting. The Dinka section descended upon the house of al-Ḥājj Aḥmad wad 'Ajīb. There was an underground granary in it. They killed al-Ḥājj Aḥmad and his brother, and advanced to the entrance to the granary to get the grain. Al-Ḥājj Aḥmad had a daughter called Āmina, and when she saw her father and her uncle killed, despising death, she took a sword, and stood in the entrance. She resisted their entry, and killed five of them. So they got up on the roof, made holes in it, came down on her, killed her, and took the grain.

The governor had sent to ask for reinforcements from 'Umar Fakhrī Bey in al-Khurṭūm. Fakhrī Bey informed Ismā'īl Pasha in Egypt. Ismā'īl Pasha was truly concerned about the matter, and sent Ja'far Pasha Ṣādiq as governor to the Sudan, and he went there by way of Kōroskō. He appointed Ja'far Pasha Maḥzar as his deputy, and sent him with a force and two guns to Kasala to suppress the rising. He went there by way of Sawākin. He sent strict orders to 'Umar Fakhrī Bey to send relieving forces from the country's garrisons until reinforcements arrived from Egypt.

The first relieving force that arrive at Kasala was the *Sersiivari* 'Alī *Kāshif* al-Kurdī with 400 troopers of the irregular cavalry, coming from al-Qaḍārif in the last part of July 1865. They bivouacked in the provincial headquarters. A few days after his arrival, one of his men went out to tend his camel. A number of the black *jihādiyya* met him, and took away his camel, his rifle and his ammunition. He went back, and complained to 'Alī *Kāshif*, who was angry, and beat the war-drum in preparation for fighting. Sayyid al-Ḥasan al-Mīrghanī was staying in the citadel. He went to him, calmed his anger, and undertook to return the camel and the rifle. Then they went to the *jihādiyya*, and won them over. They returned the camel and the rifle, but they denied that they had taken any ammunition. 'Alī *Kāshif* was determined to get back the ammunition, and when they did not return it, he went out at night by moonlight, and fired

on them. They returned fire, and when it became heavy, he returned to the provincial headquarters, and entrenched himself. The next day, the *jihādiyya* made loopholes in the barracks and the neighbouring houses, and proceeded to fire on the pedestrians. They intercepted the passers-by, and shut people up in their houses for 26 days. Then Ādam Bey arrived from Wad Madanī, then al-Khurṭūm, then Barbar with reinforcements of regular troops and irregular cavalry, and they ceased hostilities.

Ādam Bey was one of the greatest officers of the regular army. He had been brought up in Egypt, and accompanied Ibrāhīm Pasha to Syria. He was distinguished for courage, experience and good judgment. Ismā'īl Pasha knew him, and when he heard that he had been appointed to Kasala he wrote to him in Turkish on 1 Jumādā I 1282/22 Sept. 1865.

[Shuqayr gives an Arabic translation of the letter.]

When Ādam Bey arrived at Kasala, he stationed his troops outside the wall of the town, opposite the east gate. He took a bugler and a guard, and went straight to the barracks where the mutineers were. He ordered the bugler to sound the call to assemble the officers. When the officers had assembled around him, he spoke to them as follows: "What is this mutiny and disobedience which you have declared? Aren't you the sons of our lord, who has honoured you by his service, and for long years has given you wages and bounties? Ought you to disobey him, and to revolt against his government, when he has committed to you the support of his power in the country? Yes, you are oppressed by not receiving your wages at the proper times, and you may raise your voices in complaint; but you have exceeded the limits of complaint, and made matters worse. Nevertheless I ask his Highness to set the matter right, and to pardon you. From now on, if they ask you, then say 'We haven't found a high-ranking officer of our ethnic group to whom we can complain, who will convey our complaint to his Highness, so let it be with us as it will.' Now I want you to go outside the wall, and stand between Jabal Makrām and Jabal Kasala until your pardon arrives. Do not be deceived by your strength and numbers for 'the arm of the government is long'. Here I have come with an army of black troops and irregular cavalry, another army came before me, and there are reinforcements on the way from Kordofān and Sinnār and Barbār and Egypt. If you persist in mutiny, they will gather around you, and bring you to an evil end. Take my advice, and place your

business in my hands, and I will manage your affair judiciously and honourably."

Ādam Bey was ethnically an Arab. His father, Muḥammad Ḍaw al-Bayt, was the shaykh of the Ḍār Ḥāmid nomads in Kordofān, but he was very dark in colour, and he knew the character of the blacks, so that it was thought that he was one of them, and they were on friendly terms with him. They calmed down at his words, especially as he spoke to them like a father. They obeyed his order, and went out from the barracks to the place he had designated outside the walls.

Four days after the arrival of Ādam Bey, Sarī Çeşme 'Abdallāh Pasha came from al-Khurṭūm and Barbar with three squadrons of irregular cavalry, and encamped outside the wall. *Mirliva* Ḥasan Pasha held a meeting in the provincial headquarters with 'Abdallāh Pasha, the governor, Ādam Bey and all the officers and squadron-commanders to consider the case of the mutineers. They resolved to disarm them, and committed the matter to Ādam Bey. They readily surrendered their arms to him. Then the officers held another meeting to consider what to do next. The majority opinion was to kill them. Ādam Bey rejected this opinion, and said, "I have sworn to them on my honour that they will not suffer under any judgment unless our lord confirms it. On these terms they surrendered their arms to me. Now let us submit the matter to our lord, and we shall do whatever he commands." The meeting accepted his opinion, but it was settled that they should be kept in bonds until the reply concerning them came from Egypt.

An order was given to the troopers of the irregular cavalry, who mounted their horses, and surrounded them. They took ropes from the stores, and proceeded to tie them up, and put them in the barracks group by group. While this was going on, a troop-commander of the irregular cavalry seized a girl from the hand of a sergeant of the regiment in order to bind him. The girl wept, and her father asked him to leave her alone. The troop-commander insulted him, and kicked him. He drew a knife from his sleeve, stabbed the troop-commander, and killed him. The blacks were aroused. 'Abdallāh Pasha gave an order to the irregular cavalry. They fired on them, killed most of them, manhandled the rest, and thrust them into prison.

Shortly afterwards Ja'far Pasha Mazhar arrived, and established causes of the rising. The *Sağ* Muḥammad Efendi Abū Ḥazlak had

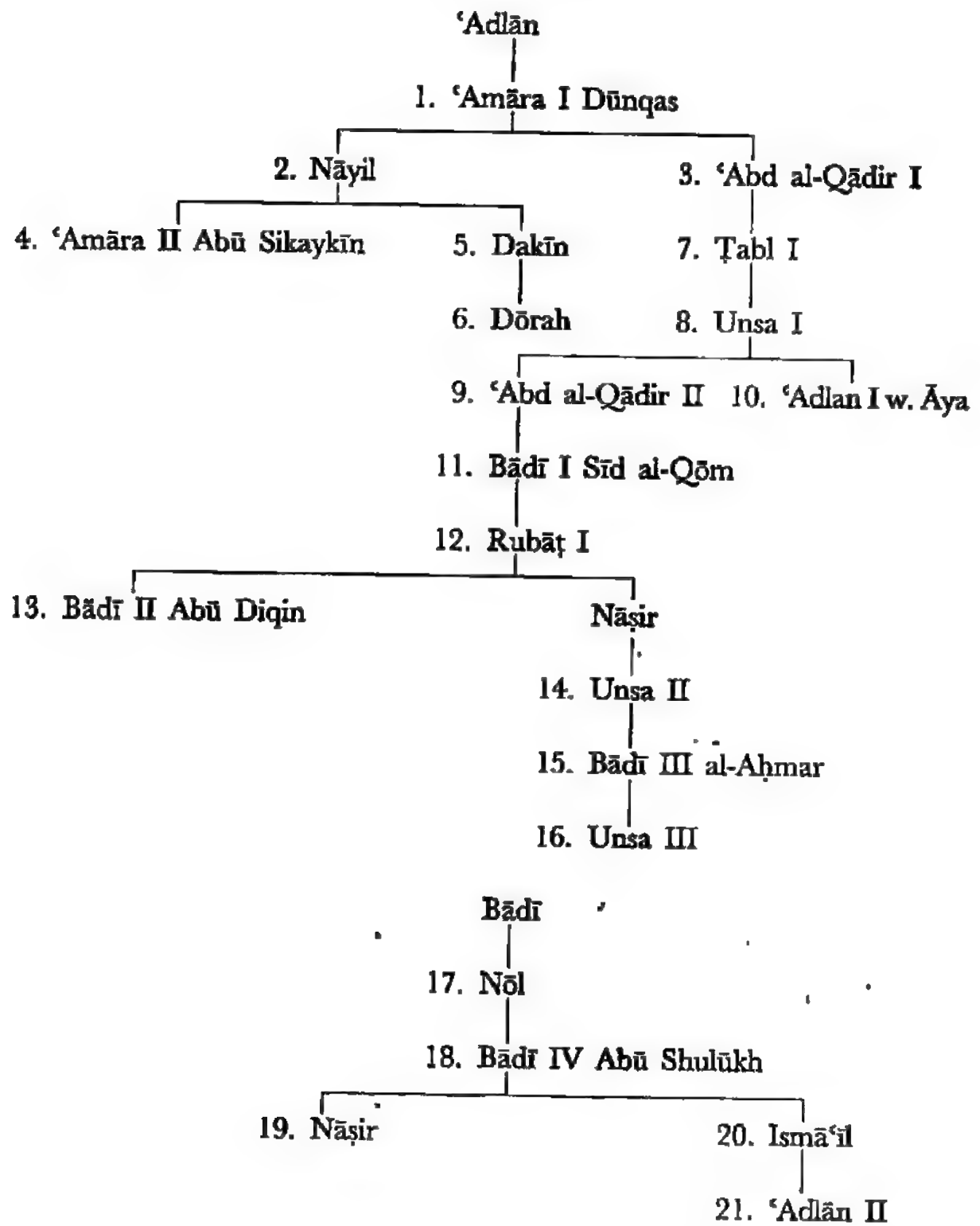
his fortune told in the sand, and it was said to him that if he stayed with the governor, he would be hanged. So he joined the mutineers two days before Ādam Bey came from al-Khurṭūm. Ja'far Pasha ordered him to be hanged, and hanged he was. Then after him was hanged the *Yüzbaşı* Bashīr Ağa al-Sudānī, who joined the *jihādiyya* after they returned from al-Mitkināb. He divided the mutinous *jihādiyya* who had not been killed into three parties. Those who had started the rising against Khattāb Efendi, and then had mutinied at al-Mitkināb were the first party. Those who had mutinied after the return of the first party from al-Mitkināb were the second party. Those who were absent being away from the town, or who were in it and did not mutiny were the third party. The men of the first party were sentenced to death. They were bound and lined up by a trench dug for them at the foot of Jabal Makrām, and shot, so that they fell into the trench. Then the trench was filled in, and the filling made a distinct mound. Then men of the second party were sentenced to life imprisonment with hard labour. They were first employed in rebuilding the houses they had reduced to ruin. As for the men of the third party, they were organized into three companies, and retained in the province. The governor, Ibrāhīm Bey Adham, died a few days before Ja'far Pasha's arrival at Kasala. His death was unexpected, and it is even said that he took poison to escape humiliation and punishment. After him died 'Abdallāh Pasha, then 'Uthmān Bey. The *Mirliva* Ḥasan Pasha was seized with dysentery before Ja'far Pasha arrived at Kasala, and died a few days after his arrival.

So ended the rising of the black *jihādiyya* in Kasala after its people had suffered ruin and the loss of blood and treasure. Nor was this enough, but there was a sequel in an epidemic fever arising from the tainting of the air by the many who were killed. Many died of this.

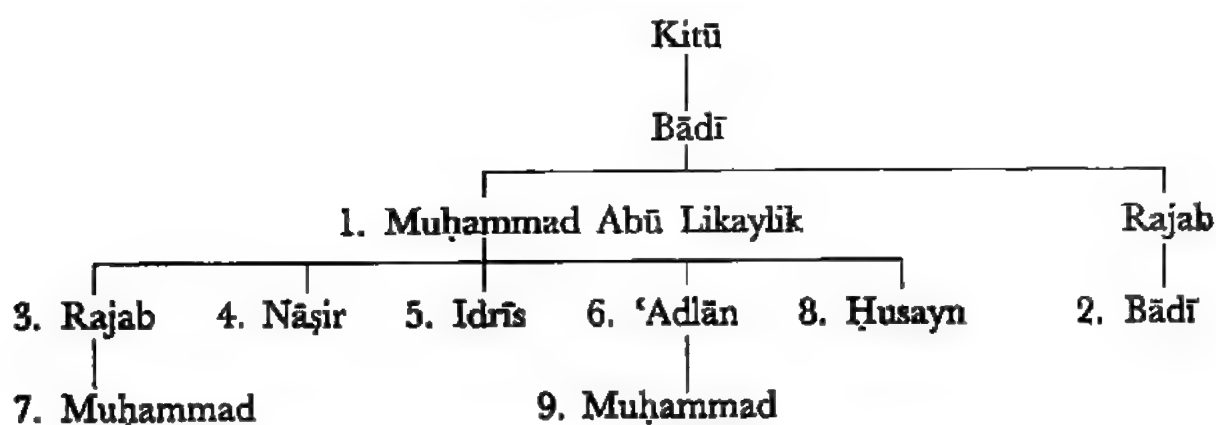


## GENEALOGICAL TABLES AND KING-LISTS

### *The Fung Dynasty*

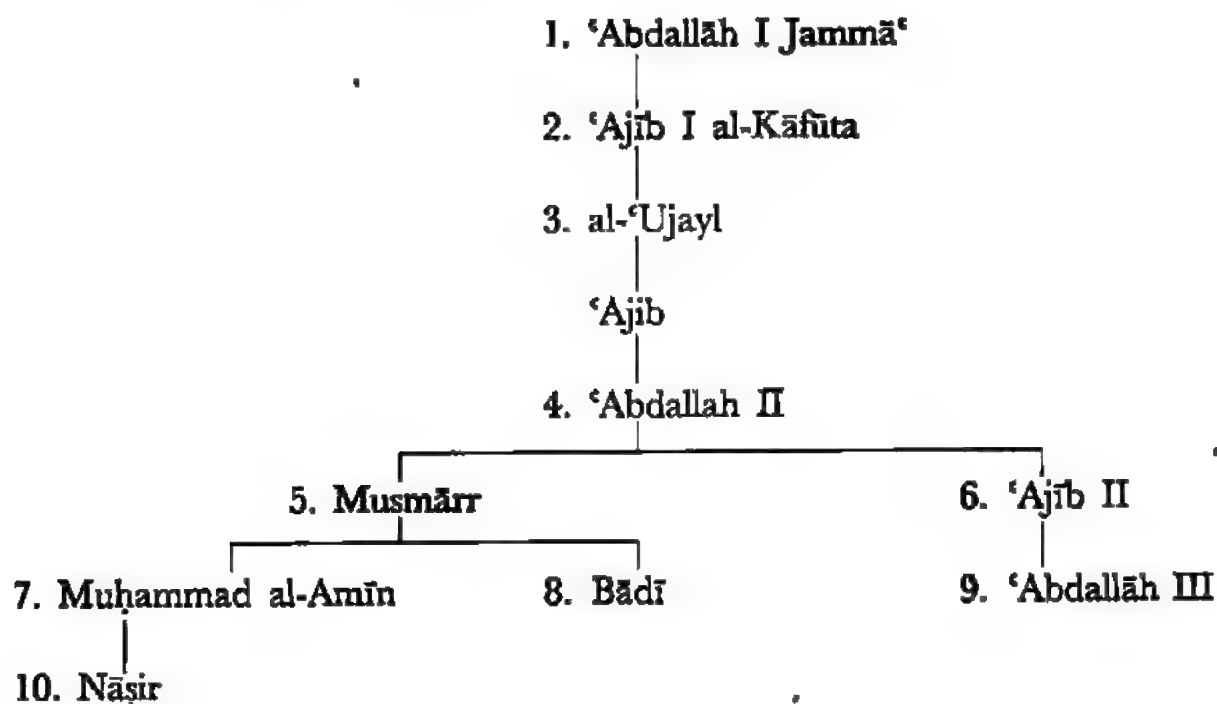


*The Hamaj Regents*



*The 'Abdallāb Mānjils*

This is based on the family tree given in MacMichael, *Arabs*, I, 246, and copied by A.E.D. Penn, "Traditional stories of the 'Abdullab tribe", *SNR*, XVII/i, 1934, at p. 59. While this tree includes all the important *mānjils* who are mentioned in the Funj Chronicle, other names are also given by Penn.



Notes

1. 'Abdallāh I Jammā'; beginning of reign 910/1504-5.
2. 'Ajīb I al-Kāfūta; appointed by 'Amāra II Abū Sikaykīn.
3. 'Ujayl; appointed by 'Adlān I w. Āya.

4. 'Abdallāh II w. 'Ajīb; killed with his brother Shammām in the war with Musabba'āt, t. Bādī IV Abū Shulūkh.
5. Musmārr; reigned for two months; cf. *Ṭabaqāt* in MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, p. 230, no. 58.
6. 'Ajīb II w. 'Abdallāh; killed in battle 1193/1779-80.
7. Muḥammad al-Amīn w. Musmārr; killed 1205/1790-1.
8. Bādī w. Musmārr; appointed 1198/1783-4.
9. 'Abdallāh III w. 'Ajīb; appointed 1205/1790-1, killed in battle 1215/1800.
10. Nāṣir w. Muḥammad al-Amīn; appointed 1215/1800, submitted to Ismā'il Pasha 1235/1820.

*Reigns of the Funj Kings*

	Funj Chronicle	Bruce's King-list
1. 'Amāra I Dūnqas	901/1495-6— 940/1533-4	910/1504-5— 940/1533-4
2. Nāyil	950/1543-4— 962/1554-5	940-957/ 1550-1
3. 'Abd al-Qādir I	940-950/ 1543-4	957-965/ 1557-8
4. 'Amāra II Abū Sikaykīn	962-970/ 1562-3	965-976/ 1568-9
5. Dakīn	970-985/ 1577-8	976-994/ 1585-6
6. Dōrah	985-993/ 1585	994-996/ 1587-8
7. Ṭabl I	993-997/ 1588-9	996-1000/ 1591-2
8. Unsa I	997-1009/ 1600-1	1000-1012/ 1603-4
9. 'Abd al-Qādir II	1009-1013/ 1604-5	1012-Rajab 1015/ Nov. 1606
10. 'Adlān I w. Āya	1013-1016/ 1607-8	1016-1020/ 1611-12
11. Bādī I Sīd al-Qōm	1016-1023/ 1614-15	1023-1025/ 1616-17

12. Rubāt I	1023-1052/ 1642-3	1025-1054/ 1644-5
13. Bādī II Abū Diqin	1052-1088/ 1677-8	1054-6 Hījā 1091/28 Dec. 1680
14. Unsa II	1088-1100/ 1688-9	1092/1681- 1103/1692
15. Bādī III al-Aḥmar	1100-1127/ 1715	21 Ramaḍān 1103/ 6 June 1692-1128/1716
16. Unsa III	1127-1130/ 1717-18	20 Rabīʿ II 1128/ 13 Apr. 1716-1132/1720
17. Nōl	1130-1135/ 1722-3	1 Shaʿbān 1132/ 8 June 1720-1136/1724
18. Bādī IV Abū Shulūkh	1135-1175/ 1761-2	16 Shawwāl 1136/8 July 1724-2 Ramaḍān 1175/27 March 1762
19. Nāṣir	1175-1182/ 1768-9	3 Ramaḍān 1175/28 March 1762-27 Shaʿbān 1183/26 Dec. 1769
20. Ismāʿīl	1182-? 1190/ 1176-7	1183
21. ʿAdlān II	? 1190-1203/ 1788-9	

Puppet-kings from Āwkal (1203/1788-9) to Bādī VI w. Ṭabl II (second reign from 1219/1804-5 to 12 Ramaḍān 1236/13 June 1821).

*Reigns of the Hamaj Regents*

1. Muḥammad Abū Likaylik	1175-90/1762-1776-7
2. Bādī w. Rajab	1190-4/1776-7-1780
3. Rajab b. Muḥammad A.L.	1194-Muḥarram 1200/1780- Nov. 1785
4. Nāṣir b. Muḥammad A.L.	effective power 1203-13/1788-9- summer 1798
5. Idrīs b. Muḥammad A.L.	early 1213-16 Jumādā II 1218/ summer 1798-3 Oct. 1803
6. ʿAdlān b. Muḥammad A.L.	Jumādā II-16 Ramaḍān 1218/ Oct.-30 Dec. 1803

7. Muḥammad w. Rajab 1218-23/1803-8
8. Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad A.L.  
(rival to 7 above) 1221-3/1806-8
9. Muḥammad w. ‘Adlān . “ puppet-regent 1222/1807 with full  
powers 23 Jumādā II 1223-Rabi‘  
II 1236/16 Aug. 1808—Jan.-  
Feb. 1821



## GLOSSARIES

### a. General glossary

The words listed are Arabic unless marked otherwise.

**'āda:** established custom. Dakīn b. Nāyil is entitled *malik al-'āda*, "the king of the customary usage", because he established administrative procedures and court protocol. When power finally passed from the Funj kings to the Hamaj regents on the death of 'Adlān II, the Chronicler says *šāra mulkuhum 'āda*, "their kingship became a customary institution", i.e. a formality.

**amīn al-Funj:** a Funj court official, the highest in rank as indicated by precedence of witnesses to charters (Spaulding and Abū Salīm, *Public documents*). In the Chronicle, *amīn al-Funj* appears to be the commander of the Funj forces.

**'angarēb** (Beja): a bedstead consisting of a wooden frame and legs, and rope matting.

**arbāb:** a Funj honorific, originally pl. (of respect) of *rabb*, "lord".

**ardabb:** 198 litres.

**'arf:** the meaning of the single use (p. 15) is not clear.

**'awā'id:** pl. of *'āda* (q.v.). The word occurs in the account of Funj accession-customs: *maḥall . . . fīhī 'awā'id takhrīju lahum min al-arḍ*, "a place . . . where 'awā'id would come out to them from the earth." MacMichael, *Arabs*, I, 100-2, speaks of *maḥalāt 'awā'id* (sic) in Dār Fūr, and translates the phrase "places of customs, or rites." In the passage from the Chronicle, *'awā'id* seems to have been transferred to the object of the rites, perhaps a sacred snake as in the instances given by MacMichael. See also Chronicle, p. 35.

**awrād** (pl. of *wird*): distinctive prayers composed by the founder or a leading member of a Sufi order, and repeated by initiates.

**baraka:** power granted by God, characteristic of holy men and hereditary or transferable to objects they have used.

**dār:** the homeland or territory of a tribe.

**dhahabiyya:** a Nile houseboat.

**faqīh:** in standard usage, a scholar in Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*). In Sudanese usage (pron. *fakī*, and pl. *fuqarā'*, pron. *fugarā*, from *faqīr*, "dervish"), a traditional teacher of Islam, often a holy man.

**fāshir** (non-Ar.): the open space in front of the royal residence in Sinnār; similarly in Dār Fūr (whence the name of the capital town) and Wadai.

**ḥāla** (pl. *ḥalālāt*): in Sufism, a state of divine ecstasy.

**Ḥaḳīqa:** in Sufism, the divine Reality.

**ḥāsh** (standard Arabic, *ḥawsh*): the courtyard of a house.

**'idda:** the period required under the Shari'a before a divorced woman may remarry.

**imām:** a leader in prayer, hence a Muslim of outstanding eminence.

**jad'a:** an area of rather less than a hectare.

**jallāba:** an itinerant merchant, a pedlar.

**jundī:** a high officer at the Funj court; the second in rank as indicated by charters (Spaulding and Abū Salīm, *Public documents*). In standard Arabic the term means merely "soldier".

**kalām:** Islamic theology.

**karāmāt** (s. *karāma*): miracles of a holy man effected through his *baraka* (q.v.).

**kashf:** in Sufism, mystical illumination.

**khalīfa:** the successor or deputy of the head of a Sufi order or holy family.

- khalwa*: the residence of a *faqīh* (q.v.).
- khaṭīb*: the preacher of the Friday sermon in a mosque.
- khaṭwa*: literally "a step"; in Sufism, a rapid journey over a great distance accomplished through divine power (*baraka*).
- khawāja*: in pre-modern Sudanese usage, a (foreign) merchant; from the nineteenth century, a foreigner who may be a merchant.
- khalīfa*: the office of *khalīfa* (q.v.).
- madhhab*: one of the four recognized schools of jurisprudence in Sunnī Islam. The predominant *madhhab* in the Sudan is the Mālikī, which takes its name from its supposed founder, Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/796). The Shāfi'ī *madhhab* is predominant in Egypt, and the Ḥanafī *madhhab* was officially recognized throughout the Ottoman Empire.
- makk* (pl. *mukūk*; the word is probably non-Ar., although popularly regarded as a corruption of *malik*, *mulūk*): title of the Funj ruler. The Ar. terms *malik* and *sultān* are substituted indiscriminately for it by the chroniclers.
- mānjūl*, *mānjuluk* (non-Ar.): primarily the title of the 'Abdallābī shaykh as viceroy of the north; otherwise an honorific.
- maqāmāt*: places where a deceased holy man reveals himself.
- maqḍūm*: the commander of a Funj war-band.
- ma'rifa*: in Sufism, mystical knowledge, gnosis.
- marīsa* (Nubian): beer brewed from millet.
- martaba* (pl. *marātib*): the primary meaning is "step" or "stage in ascent". As used in the Funj Chronicle, it means a *faqīh* (q.v.) possessing a high degree of sanctity.
- maṭmūra*: an underground grain-store.
- Mawlid*: festival of the Prophet's birthday (12 Rabī' I).
- mukāshafa* (pl. *mukāshafāt*): see *kashf*.
- muftī*: a religious scholar ('ālim) competent to give an authoritative opinion (*fatwā*) on a point of Islamic law.
- nisba*: an adjective, forming part of a name, which indicates the bearer's descent or origin.
- qabḍ*, *inbiṣāṭ*: in Sufism, two contrasting spiritual states; "contraction" or "dereliction", and "expansion" or "exaltation".
- qāḍī*: an Islamic judge.
- qawāwīd*: the meaning in the sole reference in the Chronicle (p. 31) is not clear. In the kingdom of Taqālī, the term signified pages in the royal household, consisting of boys aged about 8 to 18: Ewald, *Soldiers, traders, and slaves*, 236.
- qubba*: the domed tomb of a holy man.
- quṭb*: literally "axis", i.e. of the universe. In Sudanese Sufism the term is generally used of someone regarded as a great Sufi teacher and saint.
- qutṭiyya*: a grass hut.
- raṭk*: a weight equal to 449.28 gms.
- riwāyāt* (s. *riwāya*): the chains of transmitters of the Traditions of the Prophet (*Ḥadīth*) which guarantee their authenticity.
- sāqiya*: a horizontal water-wheel, and by derivation the land so irrigated.
- Sharī'a*: the Holy Law of Islam.
- sharīf*: a person claiming descent from the Prophet.
- shaykh al-Islām*; in the Chronicle, a leading religious scholar.
- sīd al-qōm*, *sīd qōm al-shams* (standard Ar., *sayyid al-qawm*): the head of the Funj royal family (according to Spaulding and Abū Salīm, *Public documents*, originally the king's maternal uncle); not the king, although both Bādī I and Nōl became king after holding this office.
- sirr*: in Sufism, the secret of divine power.
- sūrij aḥmar*: a kind of bread.
- tagwīd*: the correct cantillation of the Qur'ān.

- ṭāqīyya*: the horned cap which was the sign of authority in the Funj period.  
*ṭarīqa*: a Sufi order, e.g. the Khatmiyya.  
*tawḥīd*: literally "asserting the [divine] unity", dogmatic theology; virtually a synonym of *kalām*.  
*'ulamā'* (pl. of *'ālim*): scholars in the Islamic religious sciences.  
*waqīyya*: a weight (of gold) equal to 31.9 gms.  
*wazīr*: the minister of a Funj king, or a Hamaj regent, or other magnate.  
*zaghārī*: the ululation of women as a sign of joy.  
*zarība*: a fence made of thorn-bushes.

#### b. Turco-Egyptian administrative and military terms

- bayraqīyya*: apparently the household troops of Maḥū Bey.  
*binbaşı*: major.  
*bölükbaşı*: officer commanding a troop of irregular cavalry.  
*çavuş*: (arabicized as *shāwūsh/shāwīsh*) sergeant.  
*çokadar ağa*: holder of the viceregal court office of valet.  
*defterdar*: under Muḥammad 'Alī Pasha, the head of the financial administration of Egypt.  
*delibaşı*: officer of irregular cavalry.  
*divan efendî*: in the Turco-Egyptian Sudan, the secretary of the governor-general, or of his predecessor as head of the Turco-Egyptian forces.  
*hâkim*: an administrator with executive power.  
*hâkim qism*: administrator of a sub-province.  
*hâkim khuff*: administrator of a district; lieutenant-colonel.  
*jihâdiyya*: Turco-Egyptian regular infantry.  
*kâhya*: steward.  
*kâshif*: a district officer.  
*kaymakam*: administrator of a sub-district; lieutenant-colonel.  
*khuff*: a district, i.e. subdivision of a province.  
*ma'mûr*: until 1833, the governor of a province (*ma'mûriyya*).  
*miralay*: colonel.  
*mirliva*: brigadier-general.  
*mu'allim*: in the Chronicle, honorific of a financial officer.  
*mu'awin*: assistant governor, primarily for relations with the Sudanese.  
*mubâshir*: a financial official.  
*mudîr*: after 1833, the governor of a province (*mudîriyya*).  
*mulâzim*: lieutenant.  
*nâzir* (of the city of Sinnār): administrator in charge of Sinnār.  
*qism*: a sub-province.  
*riyâl*: conventionally translated "dollar"; used of certain European silver coins current in the Sudan; cf. MacMichael, *Arabs*, II, 420.  
*sag*: adjutant-major.  
*şamadan ağa*: holder of a viceregal court office, perhaps in charge of the candles.  
*serasker*: commander-in-chief.  
*sersilvarî*: commander of a regiment of irregular cavalry.  
*'umda*: headman of a group of villages.  
*wakîl*: agent, deputy.  
*wâlî*: governor (used inappropriately in the Chronicle, when technically the only holder of this title was the viceroy of Egypt).  
*yüzbaşı*: captain in the army.

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Note: Arabic and Turkish names are, where possible, listed alphabetically by the personal name (Ar. *ism*). Other elements of the name and titlature follow.

Abbreviations: b. (*ibn*)  
                   w. (*walad*, colloquially pronounced *wad*) } son of . . . . .  
                   bt. (*bint*) daughter of . . . . .  
                   Muhammad A.L. Muhammad Abū/Abī Likaylik

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